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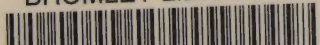
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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE FALL OF WOLSEY
TO THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

VOLUME III.

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE FALL OF WOLSEY

TO

THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

BY

JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

VOLUME III.

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE COMMISSION OF CARDINAL POLE.

THERE were glad hearts at Rome when the news came that the English commons had risen for the Church. The Pope would lose no time in despatching his blessings and his help to his faithful children. His advances had been scorned—his hopes had been blighted—his offers of renewed cordiality had been flung back to him in an insulting Act of Parliament; the high powers, it seemed, had interfered at last to avenge his quarrel and theirs. Rumour painted the insurgents as in full triumph; but their cause was the cause of the world, and should not be left in their single hands. If France and the Empire were entangled in private quarrels, Scotland was free to act, and to make victory sure.

On Christmas eve, at St Peter's, at the marvellous mass, when as the clock marked midnight, the church, till then enveloped in darkness, shone out with the brilliance of a thousand tapers, a sword and cap were laid upon the altar,—the sword to smite the enemies of the faith, the cap, embroidered with the figure of a dove, to

guard the wearer's life in his sacred enterprise.[1] The enchanted offerings were a present of the Holy Father to James the Fifth; they were to be delivered in Scotland with the same ceremonials with which they had been consecrated; and at Rome prayers were sent up that the prince would use them in defence of Holy Church against those enemies for whom justice and judgment were now prepared; that, in estimating the value of the gifts, he would remember their mystic virtue and spiritual potency.[2]

The Scotch were, indeed, ill-selected as allies to the northern English, their hereditary enemies;[3] but religion had reconciled more inveterate antagonisms, and to the sanguine Paul, and his more sanguine English adviser, minor difficulties seemed as nothing, and vanished in the greatness of their cause.

Reginald Pole was now a cardinal. When hopes of

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[1] 'Deum deprecantes ut dextram ense firmet caputque tuum hoc pileo vi Spiritûs Sancti per columbam figurati protegat.'—Paulus III. Regi Scotiæ: *Epist. Reg. Pol.*, vol. ii. p. 269.

[2] 'Nec tam muneris qualitatem quam mysterium et vim spiritualem perpendes.'—Ibid.

[3] Although the Doncaster petitioners had spoken of 'their antient enemies of Scotland,' an alliance, nevertheless, in the cause of religion, was not, after all, impossible. When James V. was returning from France to Edinburgh, in the spring of 1537, his ship lay off Scarborough for a night to take in provisions—

'Where certain of the commons of the country thereabout, to the number of twelve persons—Englishmen, your Highness's servants' (I am quoting a letter of Sir Thomas Clifford to Henry VIII.) — 'did come on board in the King's ship, and, being on their knees before him, thanked God of his healthful and sound repair; showing how that they had long looked for him, and how they were oppressed, slain, and murdered; desiring him for God's sake to come in, and all should be his.'—*State Papers*, vol. v. p. 80.

peace with England had finally clouded over he was invited to Rome. It was soon after announced that he was to be raised to high dignity in the Roman Church; and although he was warned that the acceptance of such a position would sanction the worst interpretation of his past proceedings, he contented himself with replying with his usual protestations of good meaning, and on the 20th of December he received a cardinal's hat.[1]

His promotion, like the consecration of the cap and sword, was a consequence of the reports from England. He had been selected as the representative of the Holy See on the outbreak of the rebellion which he had foretold, and he was armed with a rank adequate to his mission, and with discretionary instructions either to proceed to England or to the nearest point to it, in France or Flanders, to which he could venture.

The condition in which he might find his own country was uncertain. If the first rumours were correct, the King might be in the power of the insurgents, or, at least, be inclined to capitulate. It was possible that the struggle was still in progress—that the friends of the Church might require assistance and direction. It was necessary, therefore, to be provided for either contingency. To the Pope, with whom he had no disguise,

[1] Among the records in connection with the entreaties and warnings of the privy council are copies of letters to the same effect from his mother and his brother. They are written in a tone of stiff remonstrance; and being found among the Government papers, must either have been drafts which the writers were required to transcribe, or copies furnished by themselves as evidence of their own loyalty. Lady Salisbury's implication in the affair of the Nun of Kent may have naturally led the Government to require from her some proof of allegiance.

and under whose direction he, of course, was acting, he spoke freely of his mission as intended to support the insurrection, that the people of England might have a leader near at hand of the old royal blood, with authority from the Pope to encourage them, yet beyond the reach of the tyrant's hand.[1] With the English Government he manœuvred delicately and dexterously. At the end of December he wrote a respectful letter to Henry, making no allusion to any intended commission, but, in his capacity merely of an English subject, going over the points at issue between his country and the Papacy, and giving his reasons for believing the right to be with the See of Rome; but stating at the same time his desire 'to satisfy his Majesty, or else to be himself satisfied,' and offering 'to repair into Flanders, there to discuss and reason with such as his Highness would appoint to entreat that matter with him.'[2]

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[1] Reg. Polus, Paulo Tertio; *Epist. Reg. Pol.*, vol. ii. p. 46. The letter to which I refer was written in the succeeding summer, but the language is retrospective, and refers to the object with which the mission had been undertaken.

[2] 'Perceiving by your last letters that there remaineth a little spark of that love and obedience towards his Majesty which your bounden duty doth require, and that by the same as well it appeareth your great suspicion is conveyed to one special point — that is, to the pretended supremacy of the Bishop of Rome — as that you shew yourself desirous either to satisfy his Majesty or to be satisfied in the same, offering yourself for that purpose to repair into Flanders, there to discourse and reason it with such as his Highness shall appoint to entreat that matter with you—for the hearty love and favour we bear to my lady your mother, my lord your brother, and others your friends here, which be right heartily sorry for your unkind proceedings in this behalf, and for that also we all desire your reconciliation to his Highness's grace and favour, we have been all most humble suitors to his Majesty to grant your petition touching your

The proposal seemed so reasonable to Henry, that, if Pole, he said, was coming to Flanders really with no concealed intention, he would consent willingly; and persons were selected who should go over and dispute with him.[1] The mask was carefully sustained. The legate in his general correspondence with his friends, although he did not disguise his commission from the Holy See, or suggest as a possibility that he might himself be convinced in the intended discussion, yet spoke beforehand of his expedition merely as a peaceful one; and since he intended to commence with argument, he perhaps conceived himself to be keeping within the letter of the truth.

As his legatine credentials, five pastoral epistles were prepared by Paul.

The first was an address to his well-beloved children in England, whose apostasy he knew to have been forced upon them, and who now were giving noble proof of their fidelity in taking arms for the truth. He lauded them for their piety; he exhorted them to receive, obey, and assist his excellent representative in the high work on which he was sent.

The second was to James of Scotland—a companion to another and more explicit letter which accompanied the cap and sword—commending Pole to his care, and again dwelling on the exploits which lay before him to be achieved in England.

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said repair into Flanders, and have obtained our suit in the same, so as you will come thither of yourself, without commission of any other person.'—The Privy Council to Pole, Jan. 18, 1537: *Rolls House MS.*

[1] Ibid.

The third and fourth were to Francis and the Regent of the Netherlands. The French and Imperial ambassadors had both been consulted on Pole's intended expedition, and both had signified their approval of it. Paul now invited the King of France to consider the interests which were compromised by the unhappy war in Europe, and to remember his duty as a Christian prince. He urged both Francis and the Regent Mary to receive Pole as they would receive himself, as engaged upon the deepest interests of Holy Church.

A last letter was to the Prince Bishop of Liège, claiming his general assistance, and begging him, should it be necessary, to supply the legate with money.

With these missives, and with purposes of a very plain character, Reginald Pole left Rome in February. France was his first object. The events in England of the few last weeks had prepared a different reception for him from that which he expected.

The King had not lost a moment in correcting the misconceptions which the Duke of Norfolk had permitted at Doncaster. The insurgents supposed that they had done good service to the commonwealth; the King regarded them as pardoned traitors who must reward his forgiveness by loyal obedience for the future. A chasm lay between the two estimates of the same subject, which would not readily be filled. The majority of the gentlemen had returned from their visit to London, converts to Henry's policy—or at any rate determined to support it. The clergy, and such of the people as were under their influence, remained a sullen

minority. The intentions of the Government were made purposely obvious. Large garrisons, with ammunition and cannon, were thrown into Newcastle, Scarborough, and Hull. Royal officers penetrated the country where the power of the knights and nobles was adequate to protect them, compelling suspected persons to sue out their pardons by taking the oath of allegiance in a form constructed for the occasion.[1] The most conspicuous insurgents were obliged to commit themselves to acquiescence in all the measures against which they had risen. They had believed themselves victorious: they were enduring the consequences of defeat.

Loud outcries arose on all sides. The people exclaimed that they were betrayed by the gentlemen. The pardon was a delusion; 'the King,' they said, 'had given them the fawcet and had kept the spigot.'[2] The clergy were described as writhing with fury;[3] they had achieved their magnificent explosion; the smoke which had darkened the sky was clearing off, and the rock was not splintered. The opportunity was not, could not be gone; after all, it was only here and there that the treachery of the gentlemen would be

[1] 'They shall swear and make sure faith and promise utterly to renounce and refuse all their forced oaths, and that from henceforth they shall use themselves as true and faithful subjects in all things; and that specially they shall allow, approve, support, and maintain to the uttermost of their power all and singular the acts, statutes, and laws which have been made and established in Parliament since the beginning of the reign of our most dread Sovereign Lord.'—*Rolls House MS.* first series, 471.

[2] Confession of George Lumley: *Rolls House MS.* first series.

[3] *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xix.

fatal; the King had still but a comparatively inconsiderable force scattered in a few towns; the country generally was in a state of anarchy: the subsidy could not be collected; the monks remained in the abbeys in which they had been reinstated. The agitation began again, at particular points, to gather head.

Sir Francis Bigod, of Mogreve Castle, in Blakemore, was one of those persons who, in great questions, stand aloof from parties, holding some notion of their own, which they consider to be the true solution of the difficulty, and which they will attempt when others have failed: he was a spendthrift; his letters to Cromwell[1] describe him as crippled with debt; he was a pedant; and had written a book on the supremacy, on an original principle;[2] in the first rising, he said, he was 'held in great suspect and jealousy because of his learning.'

Mortified, perhaps, that his talents had not been appreciated, he now conceived that he had an occasion for the display of his powers. If the King himself had selected a leader for the insurgents who would give a death-blow to their cause, he could not have made a better choice.

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[1] Many of them are in the *State Paper Office* in the Cromwell Collection.

[2] John Hallam deposes: 'Sir Francis Bigod did say, at Walton Abbey, that 'the King's office was to have no care of men's souls, and did read to this examinate a book made by himself, as he said, wherein was shewed what authority did belong to the Pope, what to a bishop, what to the King; and said that the head of the Church of England must be a spiritual man, as the Archbishop of Canterbury or such: but in no wise the King, for he should with the sword defend all spiritual men in their right.''—*Rolls House MS.* A. 2, 29.

The council of the north was about to undertake its functions. The Duke of Norfolk was to be the first president, and was to enter upon his duties at the end of January.

Bigod, consulting only a few monks, a certain John Hallam a retainer of Sir Robert Constable, and one or two other insignificant persons, imagined that before his arrival the vantage-ground of Doncaster might be recovered. Had Lord Darcy, or any capable person, been aware of his intentions, he would have been promptly checked; but he kept his secret, except among his own private confederates, till the 12th of January, when he sent out a sudden circular, through Durham and Richmondshire, inviting a muster at Settington. Discontent is an incautious passion. The clergy gave their help, and a considerable number of people collected, though knowing nothing of the object for which they had been called together.[1] Presently Sir Francis Bigod rode up, and mounting a hillock, addressed the crowd. Jan. 12.

'He had invited them thither, he said, to warn them that, unless they looked to themselves, they would be all destroyed. Cleveland had risen, and other parts of the bishopric had risen, and all brave men must follow the example. The Duke of Norfolk was coming down with twenty thousand men. The gentlemen were traitors. The people were deceived by a pretended pardon,

[1] Sir Francis Bigod's Confession: *Rolls House MS.* first series, 416. Confession of George Lumley: *Rolls House MS.* The MSS. relating to the later commotions are very imperfect, and much injured.

which was not a pardon, but a proclamation. None were to have the benefit of it, unless they took the King for supreme head of the Church; and that was against the Gospel. If, therefore, he said, you will take my part, I will take yours. You who will follow me, hold up your hands.'[1]

They did not know Bigod; but in their humour they would have followed any one who had offered to lead them. Every hand went up. 'Who will not go,' they cried, 'strike off his head!' 'Now is the time to rise, or else never. Forward! forward! forward! forward now! on pain of death. Forward now, or else never; and we shall have captains just and true; and no gentlemen shall stay us.' . . . . The spent force of the great rising could still issue in noise, if in nothing else.

Among the crowd was the eldest son of Lord Lumley, taken there, if his own word was true, by little else than curiosity. Bigod saw him; and he was pitched upon to head a party to Scarborough, and seize the castle. He went unwillingly, with followers little better than a rabble. The townspeople were languid; the castle had been newly entrenched; the black mouths of cannon gaped between the parapets. The insurgents stood gazing for a few hours on their hopeless enterprise, and at the end Lumley stole away out of the town, and left his men to shift as they could. Hull and Beverley were to be attempted on the same day by Hallam and Bigod.

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[1] Lumley's Confession.

In both cases they hoped to succeed by a surprise. At Hull it happened to be the market day. Hallam went thither in a farmer's dress, with twenty men, the party entering the town two and two to avoid causing suspicion. He calculated on the assistance of the crowd who would be collected by the market; but he soon discovered that he was mistaken, and that unless he could escape before his disguise was betrayed, he would be taken prisoner. He had gained the open country with two or three of his followers, when, on looking round, he saw the gates closing. 'Fie!' some one cried, 'will you go and leave your men behind you?' He turned his horse, intending a rescue. At that moment his bridle was seized; and though he drew his sword, and, with his servants, made a few minutes' defence, he was overpowered, and carried to the town gaol.[1]

Bigod's fortune was scarcely better. He succeeded in getting possession of Beverley; but the late leaders, whose names still possessed the most authority, Aske, Darcy, and Sir Robert Constable, lost not an instant in disclaiming and condemning his proceedings. His men fell away from him; he was obliged to fly, and he, too, soon after found himself a prisoner.

Nothing could have been more fortunate for the Government, nothing more vexatious to all intelligent friends of the insurrection, than this preposterous outbreak. If the King desired to escape from the conditions of Doncaster, a fresh commotion furnished him

[1] Examination of John Hallam: *Rolls House MS.* A 2, 29.

with a fair excuse. Constable sent out orders,[1] imperiously commanding every one to remain quiet. The Duke of Norfolk, he said, was coming only with his private retinue to listen to the complaints of the people. The King was to follow at Whitsuntide, to hold a Parliament in the midst of them. Their present folly was compromising their cause, and would undo their victory. To the King both he and Aske made the most of their exertions to preserve order, and received from him his thanks and acknowledgments.[2] Yet their position was full of danger; and to move either against the rising or in favour of it might equally injure them; they ruined

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[1] 'The King's Highness hath declared by his own mouth unto Robert Aske, that he intendeth we shall have our Parliament at York frankly and freely for the ordering and reformation of all causes for the commonwealth of this realm, and also his frank and free Convocation for the good stay and ordering of the faith and other spiritual causes, which he supposes shall come down under his great seal by my Lord of Norfolk, who comes down shortly with a mean company after a quiet manner to the great quietness and comfort of all good men. Wherefore, good and loving neighbours, let us stay ourselves and by no means follow the wilfulness of such as are disposed to spoil and to undo themselves and you both, but to resist them in all that ye may, to the best of your power; and so will I do for my part, and so know I well that all good men will do; and if it had not been for my disease which hath taken me so sore that I may neither go nor ride, I would have come and have shewed you this myself for the good stay and quietness of you all, and for the commonwealth of all the country. The Parliament and the Convocation is appointed to be at York at Whitsuntide, and the coronation of the Queen's Highness about the same time.

'Written in Spaldingmore this 16th day of January.

'ROBERT CONSTABLE,
'of Flamborough.'

—Letter of Sir R. Constable to the Commons of the North on Bigod's Insurrection: *Rolls House MS.* first series, 276.

[2] For this matter see *Rolls House MS.* first series, 276, 416, 1144, and *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 529.

Bigod; but the country people and the clergy, who were half inclined to suspect them before, saw in their circulars only fresh evidence of treachery;[1] their huge party, so lately with the organization of an army, was gaping and splitting everywhere, and they knew not on which side to turn. Bigod's scattered followers appealed to Aske and Darcy for protection, and Aske at least ventured to engage his word for their pardons. Hallam, who was as popular as he was rash and headstrong, had been taken in arms, and was in the hands of the King's soldiers at Hull. They must either rescue him and commit themselves to fresh treason, or forfeit the influence which they retained. They consulted anxiously. It was still open to them to draw their swords—to fling themselves on the country, and fight out the cause which they saw too clearly was fading away. But they had lost the tide—and they had lost heart, except for half-measures, the snare and ruin of revolutionists. February.

Aske ventured to Hull in person, and interceded, with indirect menaces, to prevent Hallam's execution; a step which compromised himself, and could not benefit the prisoner.[2] The general consequences which he had

[1] 'Captain Aske was at London, and had great rewards to betray the commons: and since that he came home they have fortified Hull against the commons, ready to receive ships by the sea to destroy all the north parts.'—Demands of the Rebels who rose with Sir F. Bigod: *Rolls House MS.* first series, 895.

[2] 'Robert Aske, in a letter which he sent to Bigod, shewed that he would do the best he could for the delivery of Hallam. And that he spoke not that feignedly, it should appear that the said Aske, after that Bigod was fled, came to the King's commissioners then sitting at Hull about Hallam's examination, and

foreseen all followed as a matter of course. 'Bigod,' he said bitterly, 'had gone about to destroy the effect of the petition.'[1] The Duke of Norfolk came at the end of the month; but, under the fair pretext of the continued disorders, he brought with him an army, and an army this time composed of men who would do his bidding and ask few questions.[2]

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shewed them how that he had heard of a great commotion that should be in the bishoprick and other places, and therefore advised them not to be hasty in proceeding to the execution of the said Hallam.

'Also divers that had been with Bigod in his commotion came to the said Aske, whom he did not apprehend, but bade them not fear, for he would get their pardon.'—Deposition on the Conduct of Robert Aske, MS. much injured, *Rolls House*, first series, 416.

1 *Rolls House MS.* A 2, 28.

2 In the first surprise in October, the privy council had been obliged to levy men without looking nicely to their antecedents, and they had recruited largely from the usual depôts in times of difficulties, the sanctuaries. Manslayers, cutpurses, and other doubtful persons might have liberty for a time, and by good conduct might earn their pardon by taking service under the Crown. On the present, as on many other occasions, they had proved excellent soldiers; and those who had been with Lord Shrewsbury had been rewarded for their steadiness. Under the circumstances he had perhaps been better able to depend upon them than on the more creditable portion of his force. After the pacification at Doncaster, Norfolk was ashamed of his followers; he proposed to disband them, and supply their place with penitent volunteers from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. The King, who was already displeased with Norfolk for his other proceedings, approved no better of his present suggestion. 'His Majesty,' wrote the privy council, 'marvels that you should be more earnest in the dissuasion of the retainder of them that have been but murderers and thieves (if they so have been), than you were that his Grace should not retain those that have been rebels and traitors. These men have done good rather than hurt in this troublous time, though they did it not with a good mind and intent, but for their own lucre. . . . What the others did no man can tell better than you. If these men may be made good men with their advancement, his Highness may think his money well employed. If they will continue evil,

On the 3rd of February he was at Pomfret. Feb. 3. He was instructed to respect literally the terms of the pardon, but to punish promptly all offences committed since the issue of it. By the gentlemen he was eagerly welcomed, 'being,' he wrote, 'in the greatest fear of the people that I ever saw men.'[1] The East Riding was tolerably quiet; but to the north all was in confusion. The Earl of Westmoreland was in London. The countess was labouring to keep order, 'playing the part rather of a knight than of a lady,' but with imperfect success. The Countess of Northumberland had also exerted herself nobly. But 'there was never so much need of help as now,' wrote Sir Thomas Tempest to Norfolk, 'Northumberland is wholly out of rule; and without order to be taken in Tyndal and Redesdale, all mischief shall go at large. The barony of Langley and Hexhamshire, taking example by them, be almost as evil as they be.'[2] Similar information came in Feb. 4. from Richmond and the Dales, and Westmoreland was in worse condition than either. In place of the disciplined army which had been at Doncaster, an armed mob was spread over the country, pillaging and burning. Happily the latter form of evil was the more easy to deal with. 'The gentlemen be in such terror,' Norfolk said, 'that they be afraid to move for

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all the world shall think them the more worthy punishment for that they have so little regarded the clemency of his Highness calling them from their evil doings to honest preferment.'—*Hardwicke State Papers*, p. 33.

[1] Duke of Norfolk to the Earl of Sussex: *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 534.

[2] *MS. State Paper Office*, first series, vol. iv.

their defence.' 'It shall not be long,' he added, 'ere I will look on these commons;' nor were they slow in giving him an opportunity.

Feb. 12. About the 12th of February a rabble from Kendal, Richmond, Hexham, Appleby, and Penrith, collected under one of the Musgraves, about eight thousand in number, and attacked Carlisle. They assaulted the walls, but were beaten back in confusion, and chased for many miles by Sir Thomas Clifford. Clifford's troops, hastily levied, contained a sprinkling of the professional thieves of the Border. The tendencies of these men getting the better of them, they began to pillage; and the rebels rallying, and probably reinforced, attacked them, and gained some advantage. Norfolk hurried to the scene, taking care to bring the southern levies with him;[1] and he trusted that he had at last found an opportunity of dealing a blow which would finally restore order, and recover Henry's confidence in him, which had been somewhat shaken. 'I doubt not,' he wrote to Cromwell, 'so to use my company as it shall appear I have seen some wars. This pageant well played, it is likely all this realm shall be in better quiet during our lives. Doubt not, my lord, that I will adventure anything. I know too well what danger it should be to the whole realm if we were overthrown. Now shall appear whether for favour of these country-

[1] 'I did not dare assemble the people of the country, for I knew not how they be established in their hearts, notwithstanding that their words can be no better.'—Norfolk to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office.*

men I forbare to fight with them at Doncaster, as ye know the King's Highness showed me it was thought by some I did. Those that so said shall now be proved false liars.' [1]

The result of a battle in Norfolk's humour would have been serious to the rebels.[2] They felt it, and their courage failed them; they broke up in panic and dispersed. On inquiry, the last explosion, like the rest, was traced to the monks; those of Sawley, Hexham, Lanercost, Newminster, and St Agatha, being the most guilty. The Duke had the power in his hands, and was determined, once for all, to close these scenes. The impunity of the first insurrection had borne its natural fruits, and wholesome severity could alone restore quiet. Martial law was proclaimed in Durham, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and the northern angle of Yorkshire; arrests were made on all sides, and a courier was despatched to inform the King of the final flight of the insurgents, and of the steps which had been taken. Henry answered promptly, sending down his thanks to Sir Thomas Clifford and Sir Christopher Dacre, who had defended Carlisle, with his full approbation of Norfolk's conduct. 'The further you wade,' he said, 'in

[1] Norfolk to Cromwell: *MS.* Ibid.

[2] 'This night I will send two or three hundred horse to them, and have commanded them to set fire in many places of the rebels' dwellings, thinking thereby to make them to steal away, and every man to draw near to his own for the safeguard of his house and goods. I have also commanded them that if the traitors so sparkle they shall not spare shedding of blood; for execution whereof I will send such as I am sure will not spare to fulfil my commandment.'—Norfolk to Cromwell: *MS.* Ibid.

the investigation of the behaviour of those persons that call themselves religious, the more you shall detest the great number of them. Our pleasure is, that before you shall close up our banner again you shall cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village, and hamlet that have offended, as they may be a fearful spectacle to all others hereafter that would practise any like matter, remembering that it should be much better that these traitors should perish in their unkind and traitorous follies, than that so slender punishment should be done upon them as the dread thereof should not be a warning to others. Finally, forasmuch as all these troubles have ensued by the solicitation and traitorous conspiracies of the monks and canons of those parts, we desire you at such places as they have conspired or kept their houses with force since the appointment at Doncaster, you shall, without pity or circumstance, cause all the monks and canons that be in any wise faulty, to be tied up without further delay or ceremony.'[1]

March. The command was obeyed. Before the ordinary course of law was restored, seventy-four persons, laity and clergy, were hanged in various towns in Westmoreland and Cumberland.[2] The severity was not excessive, but it was sufficient to produce the desired result. The rebellion was finished. The flame was trampled out, and a touch of human pathos hangs

[1] Henry VIII. to the Duke of Norfolk: *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 537.

[2] Hall says they were hanged at Carlisle, but the official reports, as well as the King's directions, imply that the executions were not limited to one place.

over the close. A brief entry among the records, relates that 'the bodies were cut down and buried by certain women.'[1] Hallam and several of his followers were executed at Hull. Bigod, Lumley, and six others were sent to London, to await their trial with the Lincolnshire prisoners who were still in the Tower.

The turn of events promised ill for Reginald Pole, and the nature of his mission was by this time known in England. The fame had spread of the consecrated sword; and James had given fresh umbrage and caused additional suspicion by having married in the midst of the late events the Princess Magdalen of France, without consulting his uncle. The disturbances had been checked opportunely; but great as the danger was known to have been, a further peril had been on the rise to increase its volume. Pole had professed a desire for a reconciliation. The reconciliation, as Pole understood the word, was to be accomplished by the success of the rebellion which he was hastening to assist by all methods, natural and supernatural; and his affected surprise could scarcely have been genuine when he found himself proclaimed a traitor. Henry, by his success in England, had meantime recovered the judicious respect of foreign sovereigns. The French ambassador had promised the Pope a favourable reception for his legate at Paris. The legate, on his arrival at Lyons, met his first disappointment in the reports which reached him from his friends at home: approaching the

[1] *MS. State Paper Office*, first series, vol. ii.

French capital, he received a second and a worse, in an intimation from Francis that he would not be admitted to his presence; that unless he desired to find himself in the custody of his own Government he must leave the kingdom immediately. In the treaties between France and England, a mutual promise to give no protection to political offenders was a prominent article. Henry had required Francis to observe his obligations, and they could only be evaded by Pole's instant disappearance.

In the cruel blight of his hopes the legate had only to comply. He hastened to Cambray, and sending a courier with the Pope's letter to the Regent of the Netherlands, he avenged himself by childish complaints, which he poured out to Cromwell.[1] The King of France had been insulted—the sacred privileges of an ambassador had been violated by the monstrous demand for his surrender. He pretended to be ignorant that treaties

[1] 'Of the mind of the King towards me I had first knowledge at mine arriving in France; of the which, to show you the full motive of my mind herein, I was more ashamed to hear, for the compassion I had to the King's honour, than moved by any indignation that I, coming not only as ambassador, but as legate in the highest sort of embassage that is used among Christian princes, a prince of honour should desire another prince of like honour —'Betray the ambassador, betray the legate, and give him into mine ambassador's hands, to be brought unto me.' This was the dishonourable request, as I understand, of the King, which to me I promise you was no great displeasure, but rather, if I should say truth, I took pleasure therein, and said forthwith to my company that I never felt myself to be in full possession to be a cardinal as when I heard those tidings, whereby it pleased God to send like fortune to me as it did to those heads of the Church whose persons the cardinals do represent. In this case lived the apostles.' — Pole to Cromwell; STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 326, &c.

are made to be observed, and that foreign Courts can confer no sacred privilege on the subjects of other countries, as towards their own Governments. He reached Cambray in the beginning of April, but he found in the Netherlands a scarcely more cordial reception than in France. He remained in that town under honourable but uneasy restraint till the end of May, when he was obliged to inform the Pope[1] that the Regent was in so

[1] The value of Pole's accusations against Henry depends so much upon his character that I must be pardoned for scrutinizing his conduct rather closely. In his letter to Cromwell, dated the 2nd of May, he insists that his actions had been cruelly misunderstood. Besides making the usual protestations of love and devotion to the King with which all his letters to the English Court are filled, he declares, in the most solemn way, that, so far from desiring to encourage the insurgents, he had prevented the Pope from taking the opportunity of putting out the censures which might have caused more troubles. 'That he had sent at that time his servant purposely to offer his service to procure by all means the King's honour, wealth, and greatness, animating, besides, those that were chief of his nearest kin to be constant in the King's service.'—STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 321.

I shall lay by the side of these words a passage from his letter to the Pope written from Cambray on the 18th of the same month.

Both the French and Flemish Courts, he says, are urging him to return to Italy:—

'Eo magis quod causa ipsa quæ sola me retinere posset, et quæ huc sola traxit, ne spem quidem ullam ostendere videtur vel minimo periculo dignam, cur in his locis diutius maneam, populi tumultu qui causam ipsam fovebat ita sedato ut multi supplicio sint affecti, duces autem omnes in regis potestatem venerint.'

He goes on to say that the people had been in rebellion in defence of their religion. They had men of noble birth for their leaders; and nothing, it was thought, would more inspirit the whole party than to hear that one of their own nation was coming with authority to assist their cause; nothing which would strike deeper terror into their adversaries, or compel them to more equitable conditions.

For the present the tumult was composed, but only by fair words, and promises which had not been observed. A fresh opportunity would soon again offer. Men's minds were always rather exasperated than con-

great awe and fear of 'that adversary,' the King of England, that she no more dared to receive him than Francis; that he lived in daily fear of being taken prisoner and sent to London, and the utmost favour on which she could venture was to send him under an escort to Liège. To Liège, therefore, he was obliged to retire, and there for the present the Bishop's hospitality allowed him to remain. If his journey had been attended with no other consequences but his own mortification it would scarcely have required to be noticed. Unhappily it was followed by, and probably it occasioned, the destruction of more than one brave man for whom we could have desired a better fate. While at Liège, and even from his entry into France, it is evident, from his letters to the Pope,[1] that he maintained an active correspondence with England. Whether intercepted despatches found their way into the hands of Cromwell, or whether his presence in the neighbourhood invited suspicion, and suspicion led to discovery, is uncertain; we find only that simultaneously with Pole's arrival at Cambray, Robert Aske, Lord Darcy, and Sir Robert Constable were arrested and taken to the Tower. On mid-Lent Sunday

April.

quered by such treatment. The people would never believe the King's word again; and though for the moment held down by fear, would break out again with renewed fury. He thought, therefore, he had better remain in the neighbourhood, since the chief necessity of the party would be an efficient leader; and to know that they had a leader ready to come to them at any moment, yet beyond the King's reach, would be the greatest encouragement which they could receive.—Reginald Pole to the Pope: *Epis. Reg. Pol.*, vol. ii. p. 46.

[1] *Epist. Reg. Pol.*, vol. ii. p. 46.

Aske had sent out his letter to 'the captains' of various districts, and meetings had been held in consequence.[1] I am unable to ascertain either the objects or the results of these meetings; but 'to summon the King's lieges' for any object after the restoration of quiet was an act of the highest imprudence. In Easter week there was an obscure insurrection in Cleveland. Sir John and Lady Bulmer (or Margaret Cheyne, as she is termed in her indictment) had been invited to London. Lady Bulmer was proved to have said that she would as soon be torn in pieces as go to London unless the Duke of Norfolk's and Sir Ralph Ellerkar's heads were off, and then she might go where she would at the head of the commons. Her chaplain confessed to a plot between the lady, her husband, and other persons, to seize and carry off Norfolk to Wilton Castle;[2] but in the evidence which I have discovered there is nothing to implicate either Aske or his two friends in this project.

That after the part which the latter had played they should have been jealously watched, that actions of doubtful bearing should be construed to their disfavour, was no more than they had a right to expect. Narrow interpretations of conduct, if severe, are inevitable with men who in perilous times thrust themselves into revolutionary prominence. To estimate their treatment fairly, we must ascertain, if possible, from the fragments of surviving informations against them, whether they

[1] Bishop Hilsey to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xxxv.

[2] *Rolls House MS.* first series, 416; much injured.

really showed symptoms of fresh treasonable intent, or whether they were the victims of the irritation created by Pole's mission, and were less punished for their guilt than because they were dangerous and powerful. The Government insisted that they had clear proof of treason;[1] yet the word 'treason' as certainly bore a more general meaning in Cromwell's estimate, than in the estimate of those who continued to regard the first pilgrimage as good service to the State. To the Government it was a crime to be expiated by active resistance of all similar attempts, by absolute renunciation of its articles; and if in contrast to the great body of the northern gentlemen, a few possessed of wide influence continued to maintain that they had done well, if they continued to encourage the people to expect that their petitions would be granted, if they discouraged a renewal of the commotions, avowedly because it would injure the cause; it is certain that by a Government surrounded by conspiracy, and emerging with difficulty out of an arduous position, yet determined to persevere in the policy which had created the danger, such men

[1] The privy council, writing to the Duke of Norfolk, said: 'You may divulge the cause of their captivity to the people of those parts, that they may the rather perceive their miserable fortune, that, being once so graciously pardoned, would eftsoons combine themselves for the attempting of new treasons. . . not conceiving that anything is done for their former offences done before the pardon, which his Grace will in nowise remember or speak of; but for those treasons which they have committed again since in such detestable sort as no good subject would not wish their punishment for the same.' —*Hardwicke State Papers*, vol. i. p. 43.

would be regarded with grave suspicion, even if compromised by no further overt acts of disloyalty.

But it can scarcely be said that they were wholly uncompromised. Through the months of February and March a series of evidence shows Aske, Darcy, Sir Robert Constable, a gentleman named Levening, and several others, holding aloof as an isolated group, in close and continued intercourse, yet after Bigod's capture taking no part in the pacification of the country. They had repeatedly, in public and private, assured the people that the Doncaster articles must be conceded. They were in possession of information respecting the risings in Westmoreland and Cleveland, and yet gave no information to the Government. In an intercepted letter to Lord Darcy, Aske spoke of himself as having accomplished a great enterprise—'as having played his part, and all England should perceive it.'[1] It was proved that Darcy, when commanded in January to furnish Pomfret with stores, had repeated his former neglect—that he and Aske were still in secret possession of cannon belonging to the Government, which they had appropriated in the rebellion, and had not restored—that Aske had interfered with the authorities at Hull to prevent the punishment of traitors taken in arms[2]—that Constable, in a letter to Bigod, told him that he had chosen a wrong time of the year, that he ought to have waited

[1] *Rolls House MS.* A 2, 28.

[2] Besides his personal interference, Aske, and Constable also, had directed a notorious insurgent named Rudstone, 'in any wise to deliver Hallam from Hull.'—*Rolls House MS.* A. 2, 28.

till the spring[1]—that Lord Darcy had been heard to say that it was better to rule than be ruled—'and that where before they had had but two sovereign crowns they would now have four.'[2]

The lightest of these charges were symptoms of an animus[3] which the Crown prosecutors would regard as treasonable. The secretion of the artillery and Aske's conduct at Hull would ensure a condemnation where the judges were so anxious to condemn.

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[1] Sir Ralph Ellerkar called on Constable to join him in suppressing Bigod's movement. Constable neither came nor sent men, contenting himself with writing letters.—*Rolls House MS.* A 2, 28.

[2] Part of Pole's mission was to make peace between France and the Empire. The four sovereigns would, therefore, be the Pope, the King of Scotland, Francis, and Charles. I have gathered these accusations out of several groups among the Rolls House MSS., apparently heads of information, privy council minutes, and drafts of indictments. The particulars which I have mentioned being repeated frequently in these papers, and with much emphasis, I am inclined to think that they formed the whole of the case.

[3] The proofs of 'an animus' were severely construed.

A few clauses from a rough draft of the indictments will show how small a prospect of escape there was for any one who had not resolutely gone over to the Government.

Aske wrote a letter to the commons of the North, in which was written, 'Bigod intendeth to destroy the effect of our petition and commonwealth;' 'whereby,' Cromwell concluded, 'it appeareth he continued in his false opinion and traitorous heart.'

In another letter he had said to them, 'Your reasonable petitions shall be ordered by Parliament,' 'showing that he thought that their petitions were reasonable, and in writing the same he committed treason.'

Again, both Constable and he had exhorted the commons to wait for the Duke of Norfolk and the Parliament, telling them that the Duke would come only with his household servants; 'signifying plainly that, if their unreasonable requests were not complied with, they would take the matter in their own hands again.'

There are fifty 'articles' against them, conceived in the same spirit, of more or less importance.

The materials for the prosecution were complete. It remained to proceed with the trials. But I must first mention the fate of the prisoners from Lincolnshire, who had been already disposed of. In their case there was not the complication of a pardon. They had been given up hot-handed by their confederates, as the principal instigators of the rebellion. More than a hundred seem to have been sent originally to the Tower. Upwards of half of these were liberated after a short imprisonment. On the 6th of March Sir William Parr, with a special commission, sat at Lincoln, to try the Abbot of Kirkstead, with thirty of the remainder. The Lincoln jury regarded the prisoners favourably; Thomas Moigne, one of the latter, spoke in his defence for three hours so skilfully, according to Sir William Parr's report, that 'but for the diligence of the King's serjeant,' he and all the rest would have been acquitted. Ultimately the Crown secured their verdict: the Abbot, Moigne, and another were hanged on the following day at Lincoln, and four others a day or two later at Louth and Horncastle.[1] The commission petitioned for the pardon of the rest. After a delay of a few weeks the King consented, and they were dismissed.[2]

Twelve more, the Abbot of Barlings, one of his monks, and others who had been concerned in the murder of the chancellor, were then brought to the bar in

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[1] Sir William Parr to Henry VIII.: *MS. State Paper Office*, Letters to the King and Council, vol. v. *Rolls House MS.* first series, 76.

[2] Sir William Parr to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xxxi.

the Guildhall. They had no claim to mercy; and they found none. They were hung on gibbets, at various towns, in their own county, as signs and warnings. Lord Hussey was tried by the peers. He was guilty obviously of having fled from a post which he was bound to defend. He had obstructed good subjects, who would have done their duty, had he allowed them; and he had held communication with the rebels. His indictment[1] charges him with acts of more direct complicity, the evidence of which I have not discovered. But wherever a comparison has been possible, I have found the articles of accusation in so strict accordance with the depositions of witnesses, that the absent link may be presumed to have existed. The construction may be violent; the fact is always true. He, too, was found guilty, and executed.[2]

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[1] *Baga de Secretis.*

[2] Lord Hussey may have the benefit of his own denial. Cromwell promised to intercede for him if he would make a true confession. He replied thus:—

'I never knew of the beginning of the commotion in neither of the places, otherwise than is contained in the bill that I did deliver to Sir Thomas Wentworth, at Windsor. Nor I was never privy to their acts, nor never aided them in will, word, nor deed. But if I might have had 500 men I would have fought with them, or else I forsake my part of heaven; for I was never traitor, nor of none counsel of treason against his Grace; and that I will take my death upon, when it shall please God and his Highness.'

In a postscript he added:

'Now at Midsummer shall be three years, my Lord Darcy, I, and Sir Robert Constable, as we sat at the board, it happened that we spake of Sir Francis Bigod, (how) his priest, in his sermons, likened Our Lady to a pudding when the meat was out, with many words more; and then my Lord Darcy said that he was a naughty priest; let him go; for in good sooth I will be none heretic; and so said I, and likewise Sir Robert Constable; for we will die Christian men.'—*MS State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xviii.

With Lord Hussey the Lincolnshire list was closed. Out of fifty or sixty thousand persons who had been in armed rebellion, the Government was satisfied with the punishment of twenty. The mercy was perhaps in part dictated by prudence.

The turn of the northern men came next. There were three sections of them—Sir Francis Bigod, George Lumley, and those who had risen in January in the East Riding; Sir Thomas Percy, the Abbot of Fountains, the Abbot of Jervaulx, Sir John and Lady Bulmer, Sir Ralph Bulmer, and Sir Stephen Hamarton, who had been concerned in the separate commotions since suppressed by the Duke of Norfolk; and, finally, Aske, Constable, and Lord Darcy, with their adherents. In this instance the proceedings were less simple than in the former, and in some respects unusual. The inferior offenders were first tried at York. The indictments were sent in to the grand jury; and in the important case of Levening, the special confederate of Aske and Darcy, whose guilt was identical with theirs, no bill was found. The King, in high displeasure, required Norfolk to take some severe notice of this obstruction of justice. Norfolk remonstrated; and was requested, in sharper language, to send up a list of the jurors,[1] and

May.

[1] 'And whereas your lordship doth write that, in case the consciences of such persons as did acquit Levening should be examined, the fear thereof might trouble others in like case, the King's Majesty considering his treason to be most manifest, apparent, and confessed, and that all offenders in that case be principals, and none accessories, doth think it very necessary that the means used in that matter may be searched out, as a thing which may reveal many other matters worthy

unravel, if possible, the cause of the acquittal. The names were forwarded. The panel was composed of fifty gentlemen, relatives, most of them, of one or other of the accused persons, and many among whom had formed part of the insurgent council at Pomfret.[1] Levening's escape was explained; and yet it could not be remedied. The Crown was forced to continue its prosecutions, apparently with the same difficulty, and under the same uncertainty of the issue. When the trials of the higher offenders were opened in London, true bills had first to be found against them in their own counties; and the foremen of the two grand juries (for the fifty were divided into two bodies of twenty-five each) were Sir James Strangways and Sir Christopher Danby, noted, both of them, on the list which was forwarded to the Crown, as relatives of Lord Darcy, Sir Francis Bigod, and Sir John Bulmer.[2]

May 9. On the 9th of May, however, either through intimidation or the force of evidence, the sixteen prisoners who were in the Tower, Lord Darcy, Robert Aske, Sir Robert Constable, and thirteen more were delivered over for their trials. In the six preceding weeks they had been cross-examined again and

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his Highness's knowledge; and doth therefore desire you not only to signify their names, but also to travel all that you can to beat out the mystery.' — Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk: *Hardwicke State Papers*, vol. i. p. 46.

[1] The list is in the *Rolls MS.* first series, 284. Opposite the name of each juror there is a note in the margin, signifying his connections among the prisoners.

[2] Compare *Baga de Secretis*, pouch x. bundle 2, and *Rolls House MS.* first series, 284.

again. Of the many strange scenes which must have taken place on these occasions, one picture, but a striking one, is all which I have found. It occurred at the house of the lord chancellor, in the presence of the privy council and a crowded audience. Darcy was the subject of examination. Careless of life, and with the prophetic insight of dying men, he turned, when pressed with questions, to the lord privy seal:—

'Cromwell,' he said, 'it is thou that art the very special and chief causer of all this rebellion and mischief, and art likewise causer of the apprehension of us that be ——,[1] and dost daily earnestly travel to bring us to our ends, and to strike off our heads. I trust that ere thou die, though thou wouldest procure all the noblemen's heads within the realm to be stricken off, yet shall there one head remain that shall strike off thy head.'[2]

Of Aske, too, we catch glimpses which show that he was something more than a remarkable insurgent leader: a short entry tells us that six or seven days after his arrest, 'his servant, Robert Wall (let his name be remembered), did cast himself upon his bed and cried, 'Oh, my master! Oh, my master! they will draw him, and hang him, and quarter him;' and therewith he did die for sorrow.'[3] Aske had lost a friend when friends were needed. In a letter which he wrote to Cromwell, he said that he had been sent up in haste without

[1] Word illegible in the MS.

[2] *MS.* in Cromwell's own hand: *Rolls House*, A 2, 29, fol. 160 and 161.

[3] *Rolls House MS.* first series, 207.

clothes or money, that no one of his relations would help him, and that unless the King would be his good and gracious lord, he knew not how he would live.[1] His confessions during his imprisonment were free and ample. He asked for his life, yet with a dignity which would stoop to no falsehood, and pretend to no repentance, beyond a general regret that he should have offended the King. Then, as throughout, he showed himself a brave, simple, nobleminded man.

But it was in vain; and fate was hungry for its victims. The bills being found, Darcy was arraigned before twenty-two peers, and was condemned, Cromwell undertaking to intercede for his life.[2] The intercession, if made, was not effectual. The fifteen commoners, on the same day, were tried before a special commission in Westminster Hall. Percy, Hamarton, Sir John and Lady Bulmer pleaded guilty. The prosecution against Sir Ralph Bulmer was dropped: a verdict was given without difficulty against Aske, Constable, Bigod, Lumley, and seven more. Sixteen knights, nobles, and gentlemen, who a few months before were dictating terms to the Duke of Norfolk, and threatening to turn the tide of the Reformation, were condemned criminals waiting for death.

May 16.

The executions were delayed from a doubt whether London or York should be the scene of the closing tragedy. There remain some fragments written by Darcy and Aske in the interval after their sentence.

[1] *Rolls House MS.* first series, 1401.

[2] Depositions relating to Lord Delaware: *Rolls House MS.*

Darcy must have been nearly eighty years old; but neither the matter nor the broad, large, powerful handwriting of the following words show signs of agitation:—

'After judgment given, the petition of Thomas Lord Darcy to the King's Grace, by my Lord Privy Seal.

'First to have confession; and at a mass to receive my Maker, that I may depart like a Christian man out of this vale of misery.

'Second, that incontinent after my death my whole body may be buried with my late wife, the Lady Neville, in the Freers at Greenwich.

'Third, that the straitness of my judgment may be mitigated after the King's mercy and pleasure.

'Fourth, that my debts may be paid according to a schedule enclosed.'[1]

Aske, in a few lines addressed also to Cromwell, spoke of his debts, and begged that some provision might be made for his family. 'They,' he said, 'never offended the King's Grace, nor were with me in council in no act during all this time, but fled into woods and houses. Good my Lord, extend your pity herein. And I most humbly ask the King's Highness, and all his council and lords, lowly forgiveness for any mine offences or words attempted or said against his Grace or any of them any time of my life; and that his Grace would save my life, if it be his pleasure, to be his bedesman—or else—to let me be full dead or that I may be

[1] *MS. State Paper Office, Domestic*, vol. xii.

dismembered, that I may piously give my spirit to God without more pain; and that I desire for the honour of God and for charity.'[1]

The requests relating to the manner of the executions, it is satisfactory to find, were granted; and not only in the case of the two petitioners, but so far as I can learn in that of all the other sufferers. Wherever the scaffold becomes visible, the rope and the axe are the sole discernible implements of death. With respect to the other petition, I find among loose memoranda of Cromwell an entry 'for a book to be made of the wives and poor children of such as have suffered, to the intent his Grace may extend his mercy to them for their livings as to his Highness shall be thought convenient, and for payment of their debts.'[2] The 'mercy' seems to have been liberal. The forfeited properties, on the whole, after a longer or shorter interval, were allowed to descend without diminution, in their natural order.[3]

After some discussion it was settled that Darcy should suffer on Tower Hill; and he was executed on the 20th of June. Sir Thomas Percy, Bigod, the Abbots of Fountains and Jervaulx, Hamarton, Sir John Bulmer, young Lumley, and Nicholas Tempest were hanged at Tyburn; four who had been tried with them and condemned were pardoned. Lady

June.

[1] *MS. State Paper Office, Domestic*, vol. xii.

[2] *MS. Cotton. Titus.* B 1, 457.

[3] For instance, Sir Thomas Percy's eldest son inherited the earldom of Northumberland; unfortunately, also, his father's politics and his father's fate. He was that Earl of Northumberland who rose for Mary of Scotland against Elizabeth.

Bulmer died the dreadful death awarded by the English law to female treason.[1] 'On the Friday in Whitsun week,' wrote a town correspondent of Sir Henry Saville, 'the wife of Sir John Bulmer was drawn without Newgate to Smithfield and there burned:' and the world went its light way, thinking no more of Lady Bulmer than if she had been a mere Protestant heretic: the same letter urged Saville to hasten to London for the pleasures of the season, suggesting that he might obtain some share in the confiscated estates, of which the King would be soon disposing.[2] Aske and Sir Robert Constable were to be sent down to Yorkshire. The King had been compelled, by the succession of fresh disorders and the punishments which had followed, to relinquish his intention of holding a summer Parliament there. The renewed disturbances had released him from his promise, and the discussion which would inevitably have been opened, would have been alike irri-

[1] Lady Bulmer seems from the depositions to have deserved as serious punishment as any woman for the crime of high treason can be said to have deserved. One desires to know whether in any class of people there was a sense of compunction for the actual measure inflicted by the law. The following is a meagre, but still welcome, fragment upon this subject:—

'Upon Whitsunday, at breakfast, certain company was in the chauntry at Thame, when was had speech and communication of the state of the north country, being that proditors against the King's Highness should suffer to the number of ten; amongst which proditors the Lady Bulmer should suffer. There being Robert Jones, said it is a pity that she should suffer. Then to that answered John Strebilhill, saying it is no pity, if she be a traitor to her prince, but that she should have after her deserving. Then said Robert Jones, let us speak no more of this matter; for men may be blamed for speaking of the truth.'—*Rolls House MS.* first series, 1862.

[2] *MS. State Paper Office*:——to Henry Saville.

tating and useless. He had thought subsequently of going to York on progress, and of making his presence the occasion of an amnesty; the condition of the Continent, however, the large armies, French and Imperial, which were in the field in the neighbourhood of Calais, the possibility or the alarm that the Pope might succeed in reconciling and directing them upon England, and still more the pregnancy of the Queen and the danger of some anxiety which might cause the loss of the child, combined to make so distant a journey undesirable.[1] These at least were the reasons which he alleged to the world. His chief ground, however, as he stated in private, was the increasing infirmity of his own health and the inhibition of his physician. He resolved, therefore, that Norfolk, and not himself, should 'knit up the tragedy,' by conducting the last executions on the scene of the rebellion, and after they were over, by proclaiming a final and general pardon.

July. At the beginning of July the two remaining prisoners were placed in the custody of

[1] A second cause 'is our most dear and most entirely beloved wife the Queen, being now quick with child, for the which we give most humble thanks to Almighty God, albeit she is in every condition of that loving inclination and reverend conformity, that she can in all things well content, satisfy, and quiet herself with that thing which we shall think expedient and determine; yet, considering that being a woman, upon some sudden and displeasant rumours and bruits that might be blown abroad in our absence, she might take impressions which might engender danger to that wherewith she is now pregnant, which God forbid, it hath been thought necessary that we should not extend our progress this year so far from her.'—Henry VIII. to the Duke of Norfolk: *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 552.

Sir Thomas Wentworth. They were paraded in formal state through the eastern counties, and at each town a few words of warning were addressed on the occasion to the people. Wentworth brought them thus to Lincoln, where they were delivered over to the Duke of Norfolk. Constable suffered first. He was taken to Hull,[1] and there hanged in chains.[2] Before his death he said that, although he had declared on his examination that he had revealed everything of importance which he knew, yet he had concealed some matter connected with Lord Darcy for fear of doing him an injury. 'He was in doubt whether he had offended God in receiving the sacrament in such manner, concealing the truth upon a good purpose.'[3] This secret, whatever it was, he carried with him from the world. His own offences he admitted freely, protesting, however, that he had added nothing to them since the pardon.

A fuller account remains of the end of Aske. He, too, like Constable, had some mystery on his conscience

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[1] *MS. Rolls House*, A 2, 28.

[2] A curious drawing of Hull, which was made about this time, with the plans of the new fortifications erected by Henry, is in the Cotton Library. A gallows stands outside the gate, with a body hanging on it, which was probably meant for Constable's.

[3] Immediately before 'Sir Robert Constable should receive his rights, it was asked of him if that his confession put in writing was all that he did know. To which he made answer that it was all. Notwithstanding he knew, besides that, sundry naughty words and high cracks that my Lord Darcy had blown out, which he thought not best to show so long as the said lord was on life, partly because they should rather do hurt than good, and partly because he had no proof of them.

'But what these words were he would not declare, but in generality. Howbeit, his open confession was right good.' — *MS. State Paper Office*, first series, vol. i.

which he would not reveal. In a conversation with his confessor he alluded to Darcy's connection with the Spanish ambassador; he spoke of the intention of sending for help to Flanders, and acknowledged his treason, while he shrunk from the name of traitor. He complained that Cromwell had several times promised him his life if he would make a full confession, and once he said he had a token of pardon from the King; but his bearing was quiet and brave, and if he believed himself hardly dealt with, he said so only in private to a single person.

York was chosen as his place of execution. He was drawn through the streets upon a hurdle, to be hanged afterwards from the top of a tower. On his way he told the people that he had grievously offended God, the King, and the world. God he had offended in breaking his commandments many ways; the King's Majesty he had greatly offended in breaking his laws, to which every subject was bound; and the world he had offended, 'for so much as he was the occasion that many a one had lost their lives, lands, and goods.' At the scaffold he begged the people to pray for him, 'and divers times asking the King's Highness' forgiveness, the lord chancellor, the Lord of Norfolk, the lord privy seal, the Lord of Sussex, and all the world, after certain orisons he commended his soul to God.'[1]

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[1] A general amnesty was proclaimed immediately after.

'The notable unkindness of the people,' Norfolk said, 'had been able to have moved his Grace to have taken such punishment on the offenders as might have been terrible for all men to have thought on that.

So we take leave of Robert Aske, closing his brief greatness with a felon's death—an unhappy ending! Yet, as we look back now, at a distance of three centuries, when the noble and the base, the conquerors and the conquered, have been all long dead together, when nothing remains of any of them but the work, worthy or unworthy, which they achieved, and the few years which weak false hearts could purchase by denying their faith and truckling to the time[1] appear in the retrospect in their proper insignificance, a man who risked and lost his life for a cause which he believed a just one, though he was mistaken in so believing it, is not among those whose fate deserves the most compassion, or whose career is least to be envied.

The insurrection had sunk down into rest; but it had not been wholly in vain. So far as it was just it had prevailed; and happy were they whose work was

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should hereafter have only heard the names of sedition and rebellion.

'Yet the King's most royal Majesty, of his most tender pity and great desire that he hath rather to preserve you from the stroke of justice imminent upon your deserts, than to put you to the extremity of the same, trusting and supposing that the punishment of a few offenders in respect of the multitude, which have suffered only for an example to others to avoid the like attemptations, will be sufficient for ever to make all you and your posterities to eschew semblable offences, of his inestimable goodness and pity is content by this general proclamation to give and grant to you all, every of you, his general and free pardon.'—*Rolls House MS.* A 2, 28; *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 558.

[1] Like Cuthbert Tunstall, for instance, who when upbraided for denying his belief in the Pope, said, 'he had never seen the time when he thought to lose one drop of blood therefore, for sure he was that none of those that heretofore had advantage by that authority would have lost one penny to save his life.'—Tunstall to Pole: BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 481.

sifted for them, who were permitted to accomplish so much only for their intentions as had been wisely formed. If the reins of England had been seized by Aske and Darcy, their signal beacons of insurrection would have become blazing martyr-piles, shining dreadfully through all after-ages; and their names would have come down to posterity swathed in such epithets as cling, and will cling for ever, to the Gardiners and the Alvas.

While the noble Catholics were braving danger in England, Reginald Pole sat at safe distance on his Liège watch-tower, scenting the air for the expected battle-field; and at length, hungry and disappointed, turning sullenly away and preparing for flight. He had clung to hope till the last moment with desperate tenacity. He had laboured to inspire his friends in Italy with his own confidence. 'The leaders of the faithful,' he wrote to the Pope, 'had been duped and murdered; but the hate of the people for the Government had deepened in intensity. They were subdued for the instant by terror; but their strength was unimpaired. They were furious at the King's treachery.'[1] 'Twice,' he wrote to Contarini, 'the children of Israel went up against Benjamin, and twice they were put to confusion, God having encouraged them to fight, and God permitting their defeat. The third time they prevailed. In like manner had the children of the Church been twice conquered, once God so willing it in Ireland, and now

[1] *Epist. Reg. Pol.*, vol. ii. p. 46.

again in England. A third time they would take up their cause, and then they would triumph gloriously.'[1] He knew what he meant. Already he was digging fresh graves for other victims; secret messengers were passing between Liège and his mother, and his mother's family, and Lord Montague and Lord Exeter were already contemplating that third effort of which he spoke.[2] 'I do but desire to wait in this place,' he said, 'so long as the farmer waits for his crops. I have sown my seed. It will grow in its allotted time.'[3] Contarini advised his return to Italy; and the Pope believed also that the opportunity was passed. Pole himself, alternately buoyed up with hope and plunged in despondency, seemed at times almost delirious. He spread a wild rumour that the King had sent emissaries to murder him.[4] The Pope believed him, and became more anxious for the safety of so valuable a life. Letters passed and repassed. He could not resign himself to relinquish his enterprise. On the 21st of August he wrote that 'the English Government had made itself so detested, and the King of Scotland was so willing to assist, that with the most trifling impulse a revolution would be certain.' Events, however, so far, had not borne out his expectations. He had promised liberally, but there

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[1] Ibid. p. 64.

[2] Trials of Lord Montague and the Marquis of Exeter: *Baga de Secretis.*

[3] *Epist. Reg. Pol.*, vol. ii. p. 73.

[4] Pole to Contarini, *Epist.*, vol. ii. p. 64. I call the rumour wild because there is no kind of evidence for it, and because the English resident at Antwerp, John Hutton, who was one of the persons accused by Pole, was himself the person to inform the King of the story.—*State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 703.

had been no fulfilment; and supposing at length that the chances of success were too slight to justify the risk of his longer stay, Paul put an end to his anxieties by sending him a formal recall.

The disappointment was hard to bear. One only comfort remained to him. Henry had been evidently anxious that his book should not be made known to the world. He might revise, intensify, and then publish it and taste the pleasure of a safe revenge

But I have now to mention a minor drama of treachery winding into the interstices of the larger. When Pole first awoke serious suspicion by being raised to the Cardinalate, Michael, younger brother of Sir George Throgmorton, volunteered to Cromwell to go to Rome, make his way into Pole's service, and become a spy upon his actions. His offer was accepted. He went, and became Pole's secretary; but, instead of betraying his master, he betrayed his employers; and to him the 'Liber de Unitate Ecclesiæ' was in all probability indebted for the fresh instalment of scandals which were poured into it before publication, and which have furnished material for the Catholic biographers of Henry the Eighth. Throgmorton's ingenious duplicity enabled him to blind the English Government through the spring and summer. He supplied them with reports in a high degree laudatory of the cardinal, affirming entire confidence in the innocency of the legatine mission; and if they were not misled as to Pole's purposes, they believed in the fidelity of the spy. It was not till the day before

leaving Liège that he threw off disguise, and wrote to Cromwell in language which was at last transparent.

The excellent intentions of the legate, he said, having been frustrated by events, and his pure and upright objects having been wickedly misconstrued, he was about to return to Rome. The Pope, whose gracious disposition towards England remained unabated, had issued indulgences through all Christendom for a general supplication that the King's Grace and the country might return to the Church. These would be naturally followed by a rehearsal of the King's actions, and accompanied by censures. It was likely, in addition, that, on Pole's return to Rome, his Holiness would request his consent that his book should be set in print, 'as it will be hard for him to deny, for the great confidence they have therein.' 'Hereof,' Throgmorton concluded, 'I have thought it necessary to advertise you, considering the short departure of the legate, upon whose return, as you see, hangs both the divulgating of the censures, the putting forth of his book, and the sending also of new ambassadors to all Christian princes. I suppose you have a great desire for a true knowledge of his mind and acts in this legacy. It makes many men marvel to see the King's Grace so bent to his ruin, rather than to take some way to reconcile him. Your lordship may best think what is best to be done.'[1]

Cromwell's answer to this communication, though

[1] Michael Throgmorton to Cromwell: MS. *penes me.*

long, will not be thought too long by those who desire to comprehend the passions of the time, and with the time the mind of its ruling spirit.

August. 'I thought,' was the abrupt commencement,[1] 'that the singular goodness of the King's Highness shewed unto you, and the great and singular clemency shewed unto that detestable traitor your master, in promising him not only forgiveness, but also forgetting of his most shameful ingratitude, unnaturalness, conspiracy against his honour, of whom he hath received no more, but even as much, and all that he hath—I thought, I say, that either this princely goodness might have brought that desperate rebel from his so sturdy malice, blindness, and pervicacy, or else have encouraged you to be his Highness's true and faithful subject. But I now remember myself too late. I might better have judged that so dishonest a master could have but even such servants as you are. No, no! loyalty and treason seldom dwell together. There can no faithful servant so long abide the sight of so heinous a traitor to his prince. You could not all this season have been a spy for the King, but at some time your countenance should have declared your heart to be loyal. No! You and your master have both well declared how little fear of God resteth in you, which, led by vain promise of promotion, thus against his laws work treason towards your natural prince and country, to serve an enemy of God, an enemy of all honesty, an enemy of right reli-

[1] Cromwell to Throgmorton: *Rolls House MS.*

gion, a defender of iniquity, a merchant and occupier of all deceits.

'You have bleared mine eyes once. Your credit shall never more serve you so far to deceive me the second time. Your part was to do as the King your sovereign lord had commanded you. Your praise was to be sought in obeying his Highness's pleasure, and not in serving your foolish fantasy. But now, to stick unto a rebel, to follow a traitor, to serve a friend of his which mortally hateth your sovereign lord, what folly is it to excuse such mad lewdness? Your good master, who has lately entered into the religion which has been the ruin of all religion, cannot, ye say, but be the King's high friend. He will, as ye write, declare unto the world why the King taketh him for a traitor. In this thing he needeth to travel never a deal. All princes almost know how well he hath deserved this name; yea, the King's Highness is much beholden unto some of them from whom his Grace hath learned the godly enterprises that this silly cardinal went about. Now, if those that have made him thus mad can also persuade him to print his detestable book, where one lie leapeth in every line on another's neck, he shall be then as much bound to them for their good council as his family to him for his wise dealing. He will, I trow, have as little joy thereof as his friends and kinsfolk are like to take profit of it. Pity it is that the folly of one brainsick Pole, or, to say better, of one witless fool, should be the ruin of so great a family. Let him follow ambition as fast as he can, these that little have offended (saving

that he is of their kin), were it not for the great mercy and benignity of the prince, should and might feel what it is to have such a traitor to their kinsman. Let his goodly book, the fruit of his whole study, come abroad, is there any man but he may well accuse our prince of too much clemency, and must marvel that no way is found to take away the author of such traitory? Surely when answers shall be made to his malice, there shall be very few but they will think as I do, that he hath as he deserveth, if he be brought to a most shameful death. Let him not think but though he can lie largely, there be some with us that can say truth of him. His praise shall be grief when men shall see the King's Highness's benefits towards him, and shall look upon his good heart, his grateful mind, his desire to serve the King's honour.

'Let his lewd work go forth. After that let princes judge whether the King can take the author of so famous a libel to be his true subject. Let the King's high benefits, and, which is far more to be esteemed, his singular benevolence shewed unto him of a child, come and make their plea. Can he or you think any ground safe for him to stand in? Hath he not just cause to fear lest every honest man should offer himself to revenge this so enormous unkindness? Shall he not think every honest man to be his foe? Shall not his detestable acts, written in his conscience, evermore bring him to continual sorrow? And ye know that, whensoever the King will, his Highness may bring it easily to pass that he shall think himself scarce sure of his life, although he went tied at his master's girdle. There may be

found ways enough in Italy to rid a traitorous subject. Surely let him not think but, when justice can take no place by process of law at home, sometimes she may be enforced to take new means abroad.

'Amongst all your pretty news these are very pleasant, that the Bishop of Rome intendeth to make a lamentation to the world and to desire every man to pray that his old gains may return home again. Men will think that he has cause, or at least good time, to lament, not that the King of England hath pulled his realm out of thraldom, but that a great part of the world is like to do the same. Many a man weepeth for less. We blame him not if he lament. Howbeit, doubt ye not he shall find some with us that shall bid him be a better man, though they bid him not be of better cheer. If your good master take upon him to make this lamentation, as indeed I think there is no man that hath better cause to wail than he hath, assure ye him he shall lack no consolation. The Pope will desire the world to pray for the King! The hypocrisy cometh even as it should do, and standeth in place meet for it. The world knoweth right well what other wiles he has practised these three years. They shall laugh to see his Holiness come to prayer because he cannot bring to pass that he most desireth. He that the last day went about to set all princes on his Grace's top, writing letters for the bringing of this to pass, shall he not now be thought holy that thus suddenly casteth away his weapon and falleth to his beads? If sinners be heard at any time, it is when they pray for good things. He shall not pray so

fast that we may return to errors, to the defence of tyranny, ungodliness, untruth, as we shall pray that his Grace long may continue our most virtuous prince, and that hypocrites never after these days shall reign over us.

'Michael, if you were either natural towards your country or your family, you would not thus shame all your kin. I pray they bide but the shame of it. This I am sure of, though they bye and bye suffer no loss of goods, yet the least suspicion shall be enough to undo the greatest of them. I can no more, but desire that your master and you may acknowledge your detestable faults and be good witnesses of the King's high mercy. Ye may turn. If ye do so I doubt not but the King will show the world that he desireth nothing more than the saving of his subjects. If ye continue in your malice and perverse blindness, doubt not but your end shall be as of all traitors. I have done what I may to save you. I must, I think, do what I can to see you condignly punished. God send you both to fare as ye deserve—either shortly to come to your allegiance, or else to a shameful death.'

The scene and the subject change. I must now take my reader below the surface of outward events to the under-current of the war of opinions, where the forces were generated which gave to the time its life and meaning. Without some insight into this region history is but a dumb show of phantoms; yet, when we gaze into it with our best efforts, we catch but uncertain images and fleeting pictures. In palace and cottage, in village church and metropolitan cathedral, at the board

of the Privy Council or in the roadside alehouse, the same questions were discussed, the same passions were agitated. A mysterious change was in process in the minds of men. They knew not what it was—they could not control its speed or guide its direction. The articles and the settlement of 1536 were already buried under the froth of the insurrection. New standing-ground was to be sought for, only in its turn to slip away as it seemed to be gained; and the teachers and the taught, the governors and the governed, each separate human being, left to his own direction, was whirled along the rapids which formed the passage into a new era. A few scenes out of this strange time have been preserved for us in the records. They may pass one by one before us like the pictures in a magic slide.

The first figure that appears is a 'friar mendicant, living by the alms of the King's subjects, forming himself to the fashions of the people.' He is 'going about from house to house,' and when he comes to aged and simple people he will say to them, 'Father, or sister, what a world this is! It was not so in your father's days. It is a perilous world. They will have no pilgrimages. They will not we should pray to saints, or fast, or do any good deeds. Oh Lord, have mercy on us! I will live as my forefathers have done. And I am sure your fathers and friends were good, and ye have followed them hitherto. Continue as ye have done and believe as they believed.'[1]

[1] Robert Ward to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xlvi.

The friar disappears. A neighbour, of the new opinions, who has seen him come and go, takes his place, and then begins an argument. One says, 'my father's faith shall be my faith.' And the other, hot and foolish, answers, 'Thy father was a liar and is in hell, and so is my father in hell also. My father never knew Scripture, and now it is come forth.'[1]

The slide again moves. We are in a village church, and there is a window gorgeously painted, representing the various events in the life and death of Thomas à Becket. The King sits on his throne, and speaks fiercely to his four knights. The knights mount their horses and gallop to Canterbury. The Archbishop is at vespers in the quire. The knights stride in and smite him dead. Then follows the retribution. In the great central compartment of the window the haughty prince is kneeling naked before the shrine of the martyr, and the monks stand round him and beat him with their rods. All over England in such images of luminous beauty the memory of the great victory[2] of the clergy

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[1] Depositions relating to the Protestants in Yorkshire: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xviii.

[2] The monkish poetry was pressed into the service. The following is from a MS. in Balliol College, Oxford. It is of the date, perhaps, of Henry VII.

'Listen, lordlings, both great and small,
I will tell you a wonder tale,
How Holy Church was brought in bale,
Cum magnâ injuriâ.

'The greatest clerke in this land,
Thomas of Canterbury I understand,
Slain he was with wicked hand,
Malorum potentiâ.

had been perpetuated.[1] And now the particular church is Woodstock, the Court is at the park, and day after day, notwithstanding the dangerous neighbourhood, in the church aisles groups of people assemble to gaze upon the window, and priests and pardoners expatiate with an obvious application on the glories of the martyr, the Church's victory, and the humiliation of the King. Eager ears listen; eager tongues draw comparisons. A groom from the Court is lounging among the crowd, and interrupts the speakers somewhat disdainfully; he says that he sees no more reason why Becket was a saint than Robin Hood. No word is mentioned of the profanity to Henry; but a priest carries the story to Gardiner and Sir William Paulet. The groom is told that he might as well reason of the

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'The knights were sent from Henry the King:
That day they did a wicked thing;
Wicked men without lesing,
Per regis imperia.

'They sought the Bishop all about,
Within his palace and without:
Of Jesu Christ they had no doubt,
Pro suâ maliciâ.

'They opened their mouths woundily wide,
They spake to him with much pride:
'Traitor! here shalt thou abide,
Ferens mortis tædia.'

'Before the altar he kneelèd down,
And there they pared his crown,
And stirred his braines up and down,
Optans cœli gaudia.'

[1] Ward to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xlvi.; Miles Coverdale to Cromwell: Ibid. vol. vii.

King's title as of St Thomas's; forthwith he is hurried off under charge of heresy to the Tower; and, appealing to Cromwell, there follows a storm at the council table.[1]

August 14. We are next at Worcester, at the Lady Chapel, on the eve of the Assumption. There is a famous image of the Virgin there, and to check the superstition of the people the gorgeous dress has been taken off by Cromwell's order. A citizen of Worcester approaches the figure: 'Ah, Lady,' he cries, 'art thou stripped now? I have seen the day that as clean men had been stripped at a pair of gallows as were they that stripped them.' Then he kisses the image, and turns to the people and says, 'Ye that be disposed to offer, the figure is no worse than it was before,' 'having a remorse unto her.'[2]

The common treads close upon the serious. On a summer evening a group of villagers are sitting at the door of an alehouse on Windermere; a certain master Alexander, a wandering ballad-singer, is 'making merry with them.' A neighbour Isaac Dickson saunters up and joins the party.

'Then the said Isaac commanded the said minstrel to sing a song he had sung at one Fairbank's house in Crossthwaite, in the county of Westmoreland, in the time of the rebellion, which song was called 'Crum-

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[1] William Umpton to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xlv.

[2] *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xlvi.

mock,'[1] which was not convenient, which the said minstrel utterly denied. The said Isaac commanded the said minstrel again in a violent manner to sing the song called 'Cromwell,' and the said minstrel said he would sing none such; and then the said Isaac pulled the minstrel by the arm, and smote him about the head with the pummel of a dagger, and the same song the minstrel would not sing to die for. The third time the said Isaac commanded the minstrel to sing the same song, and the minstrel said it would turn them both to anger, and would not. And then did Isaac call for a cup of ale, and bade the minstrel sing again, which he always denied; then Isaac took the minstrel by the beard and dashed the cup of ale in his face; also, he drew his dagger and hurt master Willan, being the host of the said house, sore and grievously in the thigh, in rescuing of the said minstrel.'[2]

Again, we find accounts of the reception which the English Bible met with in country parishes.

A circle of Protestants at Wincanton, in Somersetshire, wrote to Cromwell complaining of the curate, who would not teach them or preach to them, but 'gave his time and attention to dicing, carding, bowling, and the cross waster.' In their desire for spiritual food they applied to the rector of the next parish, who had come occasionally and given them a sermon, and had taught them to read the New Testament; when suddenly, on

[1] Crummock Water is a lake in Cumberland. The point of the song must have some play on the name of Cromwell, pronounced as of old, '*Crumnell*.'

[2] *Rolls House MS.* first series, 688.

Good Friday, 'the unthrifty curate entered the pulpit, where he had set no foot for years,' and 'admonished his parishioners to give no credence to the new-fangled fellows which read the new books.' 'They be like knaves and Pharisees,' he said; 'they be like a dog that gnaweth a marry-bone, and never cometh to the pith, therefore avoid their company; and if any man will preach the New Testament, if I may hear him, I am ready to fight with him incontinent;' and 'indeed,' the petitioners said, 'he applyeth in such wise his school of fence so sore continually, that he feareth all his parishioners.'[1]

So the parish clerk at Hastings made a speech to the congregation on the faults of the translation: 'It taught heresy,' he said; 'it taught that a priest might have a wife by God's law. He trusted to see the day that the book called the Bible, and all its maintainers and upholders, should be brent.'[2]

Here, again, is a complaint from the parishioners of Langham in Essex, against their village potentate, a person named Vigors, who with the priest oppressed and ill-used them.

'Upon Ascension day last past did two maidens sit in their pew or stool in the church, as all honest and virtuous persons used to do in matins time, saying their matins together upon an English primer. Vigors this seeing was sore angry, in so much that therefore, and for nothing else, he did bid the maidens to avoid out of

[1] *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xlviii.
[2] *Rolls House MS.* A 2, 30.

the church, (calling them) errant whores, with such other odious and spiteful words. And further, upon a time within this year, one of Vigors's servants did quarrel and brawl with other children many, whom we called heretics; and as children be light and wanton, they called the said servant again Pharisee. Upon this complained Robert Smyth of our town to Vigors's, saying that it was against reason that the great fellow his servant should quarrel and fight with children. Whereupon Vigors said to his servant, 'See that thou do cut off their ears, oh errant whoreson, if they so call thee hereafter; and if thou lack a knife, I shall give thee one to do it. And if thou wilt not thus do, thou shalt no longer serve me."[1]

On the other hand, the Protestants gave themselves no pains to make their heterodoxy decent, or to spare the feelings of their antagonists. To call 'a spade a spade,' and a rogue a rogue, were Protestant axioms. Their favourite weapons were mystery plays, which they acted up and down the country in barns, in taverns, in chambers, on occasion, before the vicar-general himself;[2]

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[1] *Rolls House MS.* A 2, 30.

[2] Very few of these are now known to be in existence. Roy's *Satire* is one of the best. It would be excellent if reduced to reasonable length. The fury which the mystery plays excited in the Catholic party is a sufficient proof of the effect which they produced. An interesting letter to Cromwell, from the author of some of them, is among the *State Papers*. I find no further mention of him:—

'The Lord make you the instrument of my help, Lord Cromwell, that I may have liberty to preach the truth. I dedicate and offer to your lordship a 'Reverend receiving of the sacrament,' as a lenten matter declared by six children representing Christ, the word of God, Paul, Austin, a child, a man called Ignor-

and the language of these, as well as the language of their own daily life, seemed constructed as if to pour scorn on the old belief. Men engaged in a mortal strife usually speak plainly. Blunt words strike home, and the euphuism which, in more ingenious ages, discovers that men mean the same thing when they say opposite things was as yet unknown or unappreciated. We have heard something of the popular impieties, as they were called in the complaints of Convocation. I add a few more expressions taken at random from the depositions. —One man said 'he would as soon see an oyster-shell above the priest's head at the sacring time as the wafer. If a knave priest could make God, then would he hire one such God-maker for a year, and give him twenty pounds to make fishes and fowls.'[1] Another said that 'if he had the cross that Christ died on, it should be the first block he would rive to the fire for any virtue that was in it.' Another, 'that a shipload of friars' girdles, nor a dungcart full of friars' cowls and boots, would not help to justification.'

On both sides the same obstinate English nature was stirred into energetic hate.

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ancy, as a secret thing that shall have an end—once rehearsed afore your eyes. The priests in Suffolk will not receive me into their churches to preach; but have disdained me ever since I made a play against the Pope's councillors, Error, collyclogger of conscience, and Incredulity. I have made a play called *A Rude Commonalty*. I am making of another, called *The Woman on the Rock*, in the fire of faith refining, and a purging in the true purgatory, never to be seen but of your lordship's eye. Aid me, for Christ's sake, that I may preach Christ.'—Thomas Wylley, fatherless and forsaken: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. l.

[1] *Rolls House MS.* A 2, 30.

Or, once more to turn to the surviving abbeys, here, too, each house was 'divided against itself, and could not stand.' The monks of Stratford complained to Sir Thomas Cholmondley that their abbot had excommunicated them for breach of oath in revealing convent secrets to the royal visitors. Their allegiance, the brave abbot had said, was to the superior of their order abroad, not to the secular sovereign in England. He cared nothing for Acts of Parliament or King's commissions. The King could but kill him, and death was a small matter, compared to perjury.[1] Death, therefore, he resolutely risked, and in some manner, we know not how, he escaped. Another abbot with the same courage was less fortunate. In the spring and summer of 1537 Woburn Abbey was in high confusion. The brethren were trimming to the times, anxious merely for secular habits, wives, and freedom. In the midst of them, Robert Hobbes the abbot, who in the past year had accepted the oath of supremacy in a moment of weakness, was lying worn down with sorrow, unable to govern his convent, or to endure the burden of his conscience. On Passion Sunday in that spring, dying as it seemed of a broken heart, he called the fraternity to his side, and exhorted them to charity, and prayed them to be obedient to their vows. Hard eyes and mocking lips were all the answer of the monks of Woburn. 'Then, being in a great agony, the abbot rose up in his bed, and cried out, and said, 'I would to God it would please Him to

[1] *MS. State Paper Office.*

take me out of this wretched world, and I would I had died with the good men that have suffered death for holding with the Pope. My conscience—my conscience doth grudge me for it.'' Abbot Hobbes should have his wish. Strength was left him to take up his cross once more where he had cast it down. Spiteful tongues carried his words to the council, and the law, remorseless as destiny, flung its meshes over him on the instant. He was swept up to London and interrogated in the usual form—'Was he the King's subject or the Pope's?' He stood to his faith like a man, and the scaffold swallowed him.[1]

So went the world in England, rushing forward, rocking and reeling in its course. What hand could guide it! Alone, perhaps, of living men, the King still believed that unity was possible—that these headstrong spirits were as horses broken loose, which could be caught again and harnessed for the road. For a thousand years there had been one faith in Western Christendom. From the Isles of Arran to the Danube thirty generations had followed each other to the grave who had held all to the same convictions, who had prayed all in the same words. What was this that had gone out among men that they were so changed? Why, when he had but sought to cleanse the dirt from off the temple, and restore its original beauty, should the temple itself crumble into ruins?

The sacraments, the Divine mysteries, had existed

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[1] *Rolls House MS.* first series; *MS. Cotton. Cleopatra*, E 4.

in the Church for fifteen centuries. For all those ages they had been supposed to be the rivulets which watered the earth with the graces of the Spirit. After so long experience it should have been at least possible to tell what they were, or how many they were; but the question was suddenly asked, and none could answer it. The bishops were applied to. Interrogatories were sent round among them for opinions, and some said there were three sacraments, some seven, some a hundred. The Archbishop of York insisted on the apostolical succession; the Archbishop of Canterbury believed that priests and bishops might be nominated by the Crown, and he that was so appointed needed no consecration, for his appointment was sufficient.[1] Transubstantiation remained almost the only doctrine beyond the articles of the three creeds on which a powerful majority was agreed.[2]

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[1] Answers to Questions on the Sacraments by the Bishops: BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 114.

[2] In one of the ablest and most liberal papers which was drawn up at this time, a paper so liberal indeed as to argue from the etymology of the word presbyter that 'lay seniors, or antient men, might to some intents be called priests,' I find this passage upon the eucharist: 'As concerning the grace of consecration of the body of our Lord in form of bread and wine, we beseech your Grace that it may be prohibited to all men to persuade any manner of person to think that these words of our Master Christ, when He 'took bread and blest it and brake it, and gave it to His disciples, and said, Take, and eat ye, this is my body that shall be betrayed for you,' ought to be understood figuratively. For since He that spake those words is of power to perform them literally, though no man's reason may know how that may be, yet they must believe it. And surely they that believe that God was of power to make all the world of nought, may lightly believe he was of power to make of bread his very body.'—*Theological MSS. Rolls House.*

Something, however, had to be done. Another statement must be made of the doctrine of the Church of England—if the Church of England were to pretend to possess a doctrine—more complete than the last. The slander must be put to silence which confounded independence with heresy; the clergy must be provided with some guide to their teaching which it should be penal to neglect. Under orders, therefore, from the Crown, the bishops agreed at last upon a body of practical divinity, which was published under the title of 'The Bishop's Book,' or 'the Institution of a Christian Man.' It consisted of four commentaries, on the creed, the sacraments, the ten commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, and in point of language was beyond question the most beautiful composition which had as yet appeared in English prose. The doctrine was moderate, yet more Catholic, and in the matter of the sacraments, less ambiguous than the articles of 1536. The mystic number seven was restored, and the nature of sacramental grace explained in the old manner. Yet there was a manifest attempt, rather, perhaps, in tendency than in positive statement, to unite the two ideas of symbolic and instrumental efficacy, to indicate that the grace conveyed through the mechanical form was the spiritual instruction conveyed in the form of the ceremony. The union among the bishops which appeared in the title of the book was in appearance only, or rather it was assumed by the will of the King, and in obedience to his orders. When the doctrines had been determined by the bench he even thought it necessary to admonish the composers to observe their own lessons.

'Experience,' he wrote to them, 'has taught us that it is much better for no laws to be made, than when many be well made none to be kept; and even so it is much better nothing should be written concerning religion, than when many things be well written nothing of them be taught and observed. . . . Our commandment is, therefore, that you agree in your preaching, and that vain praise of crafty wits and worldly estimation be laid aside, and true religion sought for. You serve God in your calling, and not your own glory or vile profit. We will no correcting of things, no glosses, that take away the text; being much desirous, notwithstanding, that if in any place you have not written so plainly as you might have done, in your sermons to the people you utter all that is in God's Word. We will have no more thwarting—no more contentions whereby the people are much more set against one another than any taketh profit by such undiscreet doctrines. We had much sooner to pray you than command you, and if the first will serve we will leave out the second. Howbeit, we will in any case that all preachers agree; for if any shall dissent, let him that will defend the worser part assure himself that he shall run into our displeasure.'[1]

'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and we hear the sound thereof, but we cannot tell whence it cometh nor whither it goeth, so is every one that is born of the Spirit.' Henry would have the bishops agree; as easily could he bind the winds, and bid them blow at his plea-

[1] Henry VIII. to the Bishops: *Rolls House MS.* A 15.

sure. Under conditions, and within limits which he did not imagine, some measure of the agreement which he desired would be at last accomplished when the time and season would permit. Meanwhile, though his task was an impossible one, it was better to try and fail, than to sit by and let the dissensions rage. Nor was Henry a man to submit patiently to failure. He would try and try again; when milder methods were unsuccessful he would try with bills of six articles, and pains and penalties. He was wrestling against destiny; yet then, now, and ever, it was, and remains true, that in this great matter of religion, in which to be right is the first condition of being right in anything—not variety of opinion, but unity—not the equal license of the wise and the foolish to choose their belief—but an ordered harmony, where wisdom prescribes a law to ignorance, is the rule which reasonable men should most desire for themselves and for mankind.

But if Henry erred, his errors might find excuse in the multitude of business which was crowded upon him. Insurrection and controversy, foreign leagues, and Papal censures did not exhaust the number of his difficulties. All evil things in nature seemed to have combined to thwart him.

In the first few years after he became King, he had paid particular attention to the navy. He had himself some skill as a naval engineer, and had conducted experiments in the construction of hulls and rigging, and in ship artillery. Other matters had subsequently called off his attention, and especially since the commence-

ment of the Reformation every moment had brought with it its own urgent claims, and the dockyards had fallen into decay. The finances had been straitened by the Irish wars, and from motives of economy the ships which the Government possessed had fallen many of them out of commission, and were rotting in harbour. A few small vessels were kept on the coast of Ireland; but in the year 1536 there was scarcely in all the Channel a single royal cruiser carrying the English flag. Materials to man a fleet existed amply among the fishermen who went year after year in vast numbers to Iceland and to Ireland[1]—hardy sailors, who, taught by necessity, went always armed, and had learnt to fight as well as to work; but, from a neglect not the less injurious because intelligible, the English authority in the home waters had sunk to a shadow. Pirates swarmed along the coasts—entering fearlessly into the harbours, and lying there in careless security. The war breaking out between Charles and Francis, the French and Flemish ships of war captured prizes or fought battles in the mouths of English rivers, or under the windows of English towns; and through preying upon each other

[1] The Iceland fleet is constantly mentioned in the *Records*. Before the discovery of Newfoundland, Iceland was the great resort of English fishermen. Those who would not venture so long a voyage, fished the coasts of Cork and Kerry. When Skeffington was besieging Dungarvon in 1535, Devonshire fishing smacks, which were accidentally in the neighbourhood, blockaded the harbour for him. The south of Ireland at the same time was the regular resort of Spaniards with the same object. Sir Anthony St Leger said that as many as two or three hundred sail might sometimes be seen at once in Valentia harbour.—*State Papers*, vol. v. p. 443, &c.

as enemies in the ordinary sense, both occasionally made prey of heretic English as enemies of the Church. While the Courts of Brussels and Paris were making professions of goodwill, the cruisers of both Governments openly seized English traders and plundered English fishing vessels, and Henry had for many months been compelled by the insurrection to submit to these aggressions, and to trust his subjects along the coasts to such inadequate defences as they could themselves provide. A French galliass and galleon came into Dartmouth harbour and attempted to cut out two merchantmen which were lying there; the mayor attacked them in boats and beat them off:[1] but the harbours in general were poorly defended, and strange scenes occasionally took place in their waters. John Arundel, of Trerice, reports the following story to Cromwell: 'There came into Falmouth haven a fleet of Spaniards, and the day after came four ships of Dieppe, men-of-war, and the Spaniards shot into the Frenchmen, and the Frenchmen shot into the Spaniards, and during three hours great guns shot between them, and the Frenchmen were glad to come higher up the haven; and the morrow after St Paul's day the Spaniards came up to assault the Frenchmen, and the Frenchmen came up almost to the town of Truro, and went aground there. I went to the admiral of the Spaniards and commanded him to keep the King's peace, and not to follow further; but the Spaniard would not, but said,

[1] *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xxiv.

'I will have them, or I will die for it.' And then the Spaniards put their ordnance in their boats, and shot the French admiral forty or sixty shots during a long hour, the gentlemen of the city, Mr Killigrew and Mr Trefusis, and others, taking pleasure at it. Then I went to the Spaniards and told them to leave their shooting, or I would raise the country upon them. And so the Spaniards left. My Lord, I and all the country will desire the King's Grace that we may have blockhouses made upon our haven.'[1]

Pirates were enemies to which the people were accustomed, and they could in some measure cope with them; but commissioned vessels of war had now condescended to pirates' practices. Sandwich boatmen were pillaged by a Flemish cruiser in the Downs in the autumn of 1536.[2] A smack belonging to Deal was twice boarded and robbed by a Flemish officer of high rank, the admiral of the Sluys.[3]

The King had for several years been engaged in making a harbour of refuge at Dover. The workmen saw English traders off the coast, and even the very vessels

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[1] *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. i. On the other hand the French cut out a Flemish ship from Portsmouth, and another from Southampton.

[2] *Rolls House MS.* A 2, 30.

[3] The inventory of his losses which was sent in by the captain is noticeable as showing the equipment of a Channel fishing vessel. One last of herring, worth 4*l.* 13*s.* Three hagbushes, 15*s.* In money, 1*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* Two long bows, 4*s.* Two bills and a sheaf of arrows, 3*s.* 8*d.* A pair of new boots of leather, 3*s.* 4*d.* Two barrels of double beer, 3*s.* 4*d.* Four mantles of frieze, 12*s.* A bonnet, 1*s.* 2*d.* In bread, candles, and other necessaries, 2*s.* The second time, one hogshead of double beer, 6*s.* *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xxviii.

which brought the iron and timber for the harbour-piers, plundered by French and Flemings under their eyes;[1] and the London merchants declared that, although the country was nominally at peace, their ships could not venture out of port unless the Government would undertake their convoy.[2] The remonstrances which were made, of course in loud terms, at Paris and Brussels, were received with verbal apologies, and the Queen regent gave orders that her cruisers should cease their outrages; but either their commanders believed that their conduct would be secretly winked at, or they could not be convinced that heretics were not lawful game; or perhaps the zealous subjects of the Catholic powers desired to precipitate the sluggish action of their Governments. At any rate, the same insolences continued, and no redress could be obtained.

Henry could not afford to declare war. The exchequer was ill-furnished. The rebellion had consumed the subsidy, and the abbey lands had as yet returned little profit either by their rentals or by sale. The country, however, had not yet sunk so low as to be un-

[1] Sir Thomas Cheyne writes to Cromwell: 'I have received letters from Dover that the Frenchmen on the sea hath taken worth 2000*l.* of goods since the King being there, and a man-of-war of Dieppe and a pinnace took the King's barge that carries the timber for his Highness's work there, and robbed and spoiled the ship and men of money, victuals, clothes, ropes, and left them not so much as their compass. And another Frenchman took away a pink in Dover roads and carried her away. And on Tuesday last a great fleet of Flemings men-of-war met with my Lord Lisle's ship laden with wool to Flanders, and one of them took all the victuals and ordnance. Thus the King's subjects be robbed and spoiled every day.'—*MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. vi.

[2] Sir William Fitzwilliam to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office.*

able to defend its own coasts and its own traders. Sufficient money was found for the immediate purpose, and a small but admirably equipped fleet was fitted out silently at Portsmouth. Sir Thomas Seymour, the Queen's brother, Sir George Carew, Sir John Dudley, and Christopher Coo, a rough English sailor, were appointed to the command; and, when the ships were ready, they swept out into the Channel. Secrecy had been observed as far as possible, in the hope of taking the offenders by surprise. The greater number of them had, unhappily, been warned, and had escaped to their own harbours; but Coo shortly brought two pirate prizes into Rye. The people of Penzance, one August afternoon, heard the thunder of distant cannon. Carew and Seymour, searching the western coast, had come on the traces of four French ships of war, which had been plundering. They came up with them in Mounts Bay, and, closing against heavy odds, they fought them there till night. At daybreak, one of the four lay on the water, a sinking wreck. The others had crawled away in the darkness, and came no more into English waters.[1] Dudley had been even more fortunate. 'As he was lying between the Needles and the Cowe,' there came a letter to him from the Mayor of Rye, 'that the Flemings had boarded a merchant-ship belonging to that port, and had taken goods out of her valued at three hundred pounds.' 'That hearing,' he said, in his despatch to Henry, 'I, with another of your Grace's ships, made

[1] Sir William Godolphin to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xiii.

all the diligence that was possible towards the said coast of Rye; and, as it chanced, the wind served us so well that we were next morning before day against the Combe, and there we heard news that the said Flemings were departed the day before. Then we prepared towards the Downs, for the wind served for that place, and there we found lying the admiral of the Sluys, with one ship in his company besides himself, being both as well trimmed for the war as I have lightly seen. And when I had perfect knowledge that it was the admiral of the Sluys, of whom I had heard, both at Rye and at Portsmouth, divers robberies and ill-demeanours by him committed against your Highness's subjects, then I commanded my master to bring my ship to an anchor, as nigh to the said admiral as he could, to the intent to have had some communication with him; who incontinent put himself and all his men to defence, and neither would come to communication nor would send none of his men aboard of me. And when I saw what a great brag they set upon it—for they made their drumsalt to strike alarum, and every man settled them to fight—I caused my master gunner to loose a piece of ordnance, and not touched him by a good space; but he sent one to my ship, and mocked not with me, for he brake down a part of the decks of my ship, and hurt one of my gunners very sore. That done, I trifled no more with him, but caused my master to lay her aboard; and so, within a little fight, she was yielded.' Dudley's second ship had been engaged with the other Fleming; but the latter, as soon as the admiral was taken, slipped

her cable and attempted to escape. The Englishman stood after her. Both ships vanished up Channel, scudding before a gale of wind; but whether the Dutchman was brought back a prize, or whether the pursuer followed too far, and found himself, as Dudley feared, caught on a lee shore off the Holland flats, the Records are silent.[1] Pirates, however, and over-zealous privateers, in these and other encounters, were taught their lesson; and it did not, for some time, require to be repeated: 'Your subjects,' Dudley and Seymour told the King in a joint letter, 'shall not only pass and repass without danger of taking, but your Majesty shall be known to be lord of these seas.'[2] They kept their word. In this one summer the Channel was cleared, and the nucleus was formed of the fleet which, eight years after, held in check and baffled the most powerful armament which had left the French shores against England since the Norman William crossed to Hastings.

But Henry did not rest upon his success. The impulse had been given, and the work of national defence went forward. The animus of foreign powers was evidently as bad as possible. Subjects shared the feelings of their rulers. The Pope might succeed, and most likely would succeed at last, in reconciling France and Spain; and experience proved that England lay formidably open to attack. It was no longer safe to trust wholly to the extemporized militia. The introduction of artillery was converting war into a science; and the

[1] *MS. State Paper Office*, Letters to the King and Council, vol. i.
[2] *MS.* ibid.

recent proofs of the unprotected condition of the harbours should not be allowed to pass without leaving their lesson. Commissions were issued for a survey of the whole eastern and southern coasts. The most efficient gentlemen residing in the counties which touched the sea were requested to send up reports of the points where invading armies could be most easily landed, with such plans as occurred to them for the best means of throwing up defences.[1] The plans were submitted to engineers in London; and in two years every exposed spot upon the coast was guarded by an earthwork, or a fort or blockhouse. Batteries were erected to protect the harbours at St Michael's Mount, Falmouth, Fowey, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Torbay, Portland, Calshot, Cowes, and Portsmouth.[2] Castles (some of them remain to the present day) were built at Dover, Deal, Sandwich, and along both shores of the Thames. The walls and embankments at Guisnes and Calais were repaired and enlarged; and Hull, Scarborough, Newcastle, and Berwick-upon-Tweed were made impregnable against ordinary attack. Each of these places was defended by adequate and trained garrisons;[3] and the musters were kept in training within twenty miles of

[1] Cromwell's Memoranda: *MS. Cotton. Titus*, B 1. Many of the plans are in the Cotton Library, executed, some of them, with great rudeness; some finished with the delicacy of monastic illuminations; some, but very few, are good working drawings. It is a mortifying proof of the backwardness of the English in engineering skill, that the King for his works at Dover sent for engineers to Spain.

[2] 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 50.

[3] Details of the equipments of many of these fortresses lie scattered among the State Papers. The expenses were enormous, but were minutely recorded.

the coast, and were held in readiness to assemble on any point at any moment.

Money was the chief difficulty. The change in the character of war created unforeseen expenses of many kinds. The cost of regular military and naval establishments, a new feature in the national system, was thrown suddenly on the Crown; and the revenue was unequal to so large a demand upon it. A fresh political arrangement was displacing the old; and the finances were necessarily long disordered before the country understood its condition, and had devised methods to meet its necessities.

At this conjuncture the abbey lands were a fortunate resource. They were disposed of rapidly—of course on easy terms to the purchasers. The insurrection as we saw had taught the necessity of filling the place of the monks with resident owners, who would maintain hospitality liberally, and on a scale to contrast favourably with the careless waste of their predecessors. Obligations to this effect were made a condition of the sales, and lowered naturally the market value of the properties. Considerable sums, however, were realized, adequate for immediate objects, though falling short of the ultimate cost of the defences of the country. At the same time the Government works found labour for the able-bodied beggars, those sturdy vagrants whose living had been gathered hitherto at the doors of the religious houses, varied only with intervals of the stocks and the cart's-tail.

Thus the spoils of the Church furnished the arms

by which the Pope and the Pope's friends could be held at bay; and by degrees in the healthier portion of the nation an English enthusiasm took the place of a superstitious panic. Loyalty towards England went along with the Reformation, when the Reformation was menaced by foreign enemies; and the wide disaffection which in 1536 had threatened a revolution, became concentrated in a vindictive minority, to whom the Papacy was dearer than their country, and whose persevering conspiracies taught England at no distant time to acquiesce with its whole heart in the wisdom which chained them down by penal laws as traitors and enemies to the commonwealth.[1]

Meanwhile, the event to which the King, the whole of England and the Continent, friends and enemies, were looking so anxiously, was approaching near. The King's health was growing visibly weaker; his corpulency was increasing, through disease and weakness of system; an inveterate ulcer had settled in his leg; and the chances of his death in consequence of it were already calculated.[2] The whole fortune of the future

[1] On whatever side we turn in this reign, we find the old and the new in collision. While the harbours, piers, and the fortresses were rising at Dover, an ancient hermit tottered night after night from his cell to a chapel on the cliff, and the tapers on the altar, before which he knelt in his lonely orisons, made a familiar beacon far over the rolling waters. The men of the rising world cared little for the sentiment of the past. The anchorite was told sternly by the workmen that his light was a signal to the King's enemies, and must burn no more; and when it was next seen, three of them waylaid the old man on his road home, threw him down, and beat him cruelly.—*MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xxxiii.

[2] Lord Montague, on the 24th of

seemed to depend on the issue of the Queen's pregnancy. Yet, notwithstanding his infirmities, Henry was in high spirits. At the end of the summer he was with a hunting party at Guildford, and was described as being especially affable and good-humoured.[1] In September he was at Hampton Court, where the confinement was expected at the close of the month, or at the beginning of October. Strange inquiries had been made, by Pole, or by Pole's secretary,[2] on the probable sex of the child. On the 12th of October the question was decided by the birth of a prince, so long and passionately hoped for. Only a most minute intimacy with the condition of the country

September.

October 12.

March, 1537, said, 'I dreamed that the King was dead. He is not dead, but he will die one day suddenly, his leg will kill him, and then we shall have jolly stirring.'—Trial of Lord Montague: *Baga de Secretis.* The King himself, in explaining to the Duke of Norfolk his reason for postponing his journey to Yorkshire in the past summer, said: 'To be frank with you, which we desire you in any wise to keep to yourself, being an humour fallen into our legs, and our physicians therefore advising us in no wise to take so far a journey in the heat of the year, whereby the same might put us to further trouble and displeasure, it hath been thought more expedient that we should, upon that respect only, though the grounds before specified had not concurred with it, now change our determination.'—*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 555.

[1] 'I assure your lordship his Grace is very sorry that ye might not be here to make good cheer as we do. He useth himself more like a good fellow among us that be here, than like a King, and, thanked be God, I never saw him merrier in his life than he is now.'—Sir John Russell to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xxxvi.

[2] 'Michael Throgmorton gave great charge to William Vaughan to inquire if there had been any communication upon the opinions of the physicians, whether the Queen's Grace were with child with a manchild or not.'—Hutton to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 703.

can make intelligible the feelings with which the news were received. The Crown had an undoubted heir. The succession was sure. The King, who was supposed to be under a curse which refused him male posterity, was relieved from the ban. Providence had borne witness for him, and had rewarded his policy. No revolution need be looked for on his death. The Catholics could not hope for their 'jolly stirring.' The anti-Papal leaders need not dread the stake for their wages. The insurrection was crushed. A prince was born. England was saved. These were the terms which many a heart repeated to itself. The Marchioness of Dorset wrote to Henry that she had received the most joyful news that came to England these many years; for the which she and all his Grace's subjects gave thanks to Almighty God, for that He had remembered his Grace and all his subjects with a prince to the comfort, universal weal, and quietness of the realm.[1] Latimer, in a letter to Cromwell, was still more emphatic. 'There is no less rejoicing,' he said, 'for the birth of our prince, whom we hungered for so long, than there was, I trow, *inter vicinos*, at the birth of John the Baptist. God give us grace to yield due thanks to our Lord God, the God of England. For verily He hath shewed Himself the God of England; or rather an English God, if we will consider and ponder his proceedings with us. He hath overcome our illness with His exceeding goodness, so that we are now more compelled to serve Him and pro-

[1] *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 570.

mote his Word, if the Devil of all devils be not in us. We have now the stop of various trusts and the stay of vain expectations. Let us all pray for his preservation.'[1]

In Latimer's words, the joy and the especial causes of it are alike transparent; but a disaster followed so closely as to show that the mysterious fatality which pursued the King in his domestic relations had not ceased to overshadow him, and to furnish food for fresh superstition and fresh intrigue. The birth took place on the 12th of October. The Queen continued to do well up to the 22nd or 23rd,[2] when it seems that, through the carelessness of her attendants, she was allowed to indulge in some improper food for which she had expressed a wish. She caught a cold at the same time;[3] and although on the evening of the 23rd she appeared still so well that the King intended to leave Hampton Court on the following day, she became in the night alarmingly worse, and was in evident danger. In the morning the symptoms had somewhat improved, and there were hopes that the attack would pass off; but the unfortunate appearances soon returned; in a few more hours she was dead.[4] October 24.

A worse calamity could scarcely have befallen the

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[1] Latimer to Cromwell: *State Paper Office*, vol. i. p. 571.

[2] Hall is made to say she died on the 14th. The mistake was due probably to the printer. He is unlikely himself to have made so large an error.

[3] *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 1.

[4] Sir John Russell to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xxxvi.; *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 573.

King (unless the loss of the child had been added to that of the mother) than the death of Jane Seymour. Although she makes no figure in history, though she took small part in State questions, and we know little either of her sympathies or opinions, her name is mentioned by both Protestant and Catholic with unreserved respect. She married the King under circumstances peculiarly agitating. Her uprightness of character and sweetness of disposition had earned her husband's esteem, and with his esteem an affection deeper than he had perhaps anticipated. At her side, at his own death, he desired that his body might be laid.

When he knew that she was gone, he held a single interview with the council, and then retired to the palace at Westminster, where 'he mourned and kept himself close a great while.'[1]

In the country the rejoicings were turned to sorrow.[2]

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[1] HALL, p. 825.

[2] Leland wrote an ode on the occasion, which is not without some beauty:—

Spes erat ampla quidem numerosâ prole Joanna
Henricum ut faceret regem fecunda parentem.
Sed Superis aliter visum est, cruciatus acerbus
Distorsit vacuum lethali tormine ventrem.
Frigora crediderim temere contracta fuisse
In causâ, superat vis morbi; jamque salute
Desperatâ omni, nymphis hæc rettulit almis.
Non mihi mors curæ est, perituram agnosco creavit
Omnipotens—Moriar—terram tibi debeo terra:
At pius Elysiis animus spatiabitur hortis.
Deprecor hoc unum. Maturos filius annos

Owing to the preternatural excitement of the public imagination, groundless rumours instantly gained currency. It was said that, when the Queen was in labour, a lady had told the King that either the child must die or the mother; that the King had answered, Save the child, and therefore 'the child was cut out of his mother's womb.'[1] Catherine's male children had all died in infancy. This child, it was soon believed, was dead also. Some said that the child, some that the King, some that both were dead. The Cæsarian birth passed for an established fact; while a prophecy was discovered, which said that 'He should be killed that never was born, and nature's hand or man's had brought it to pass, or soon would bring it to pass.'[2]

These were the mere bubbles of credulity, blown by the general wind; but the interests which now depended upon the infant prince's life, caused to grave persons grave anxiety. He was but one—a single life—between the King's death and chaos, and the King was again a widower. The greater the importance

November.

Exigat, et tandem regno det jura paterno.
Dixit et æternâ claudebat lumina nube.
Nulla dies pressit graviori clade Britannum.

Genethliacon Edwardi Principis.

[1] *Rolls House MS.* A 2, 30. I trace the report to within a month of Jane Seymour's death. Sanders therefore must be held acquitted of the charge of having invented it. The circumstances of the death itself are so clear as to leave no trace of uncertainty. How many of the interesting personal anecdotes of remarkable people, which have gained and which retain the public confidence, are better founded than this? Prudence, instructed by experience, enters a general caution against all anecdotes particularly striking.

[2] *Rolls House MS.* A 2, 30.

of the child's preservation to one party, the greater the temptation to the other to destroy it; and the precautions with which the royal nursery was surrounded, betray most real alarm that an attempt might be ventured to make away with him.

Instructions to the grand chamberlain were drawn, by some one in high authority, with more than the solemnity of an Act of Parliament.

'Like as there is nothing in this world so noble, just, and perfect, but that there is something contrary, that evermore envieth it, and procureth the destruction of the same, insomuch as God Himself hath the Devil repugnant to Him, Christ hath his Antichrist and persecutor, and from the highest to the lowest after such proportion, so the Prince's Grace, for all his nobility and innocency (albeit he never offended any one), yet by all likelihood he lacketh not envy nor adversaries against his Grace, who, either for ambition of their own promotion, or otherwise to fulfil their malicious perverse mind, would, perchance, if they saw opportunity, which God forbid, procure to his Grace displeasure. And although his Majesty doubteth not, but like as God for the comfort of this whole realm hath given the said prince, so of his providence He will preserve and defend him; yet, nevertheless, heed and caution ought to be taken, to avoid the evil enterprises which might be devised against his Grace, or danger of his person.'

In pursuance of such caution, it was commanded that no person, of what rank soever, except the regular attendants in the nursery, should approach the cradle,

without an order under the King's hand. The food supplied for the child's use was to be largely 'assayed.' His clothes were to be washed by his own servants, and no other hand might touch them. The material was to be submitted to all tests of poison. The chamberlain or vice-chamberlain must be present morning and evening, when the prince was washed and dressed; and nothing, of any kind, bought for the use of the nursery, might be introduced till it had been aired and perfumed. No person—not even the domestics of the palace—might have access to the prince's rooms, except those who were specially appointed to them; nor might any member of the household approach London during the unhealthy season, for fear of their catching and conveying infection. Finally, during the infancy, the officers in the establishment were obliged to dispense with the attendance of pages or boys of any kind, for fear of inconvenience from their thoughtlessness.[1]

Regulations so suspicious and minute, betray more than the exaggeration of ordinary anxiety. Fears were evidently entertained of something worse than natural infection; and we can hope only, for the credit of the Catholics, who expected to profit by the prince's death, that they were clear of the intentions which were certainly attributed to them.

Other steps were also taken, in which precaution was mixed with compliment. Should the King die within a few years, the natural protectors of the prince

[1] Instructions for the Household of Edward Prince of Wales. *Rolls House MS.*

in his minority would be his mother's family. Sir Edward Seymour, her brother, was now created Earl of Hertford, to give him the necessary rank; and for additional security, peerages were bestowed upon three others of the council whose loyalty could be depended upon. Sir William Fitzwilliam, now lord high admiral, was created Earl of Southampton; Sir William Paulet became Lord St John; and Sir John Russell as Lord Russell, commenced a line of nobles, whose services to England wind like a silver cord through later history.

But inasmuch as, if the danger to the prince was real, the chief cause of it lay in his being an only child, as the temptation to a crime would cease when, by other sons or daughters, of unquestioned legitimacy, the success of the attempt would produce no change, and as all other interests depending now on a single life would be additionally secured, so on the very day of the Queen's death, as on the day which followed it, the privy council represented to the King the necessity of his undertaking a fresh marriage while the state of his health left a hope that he might be again a father. Henry, suffering deeply from his loss, desired at first to evade a duty in which he had little interest at any time, and which his present sorrow rendered merely distressing. The complicated treasons of Anne Boleyn had justified the precipitancy with which he had filled the place left vacant by her execution. The political obligation was now less considerable, and he hoped to be spared.

The council, however, continued to urge what his own judgment united to recommend. He saw that it

must be so; and he resigned himself. 'Although his Highness is not disposed to marry again,' wrote Cromwell, in the despatch which communicated to the ambassador in France the death of Queen Jane, 'yet his tender zeal to his subjects hath already overcome his Grace's said disposition, and framed his mind both to be indifferent to the thing, and to the election of any person, from any part, that with deliberation shall be thought meet for him.'[1]

Persons who are acquainted with the true history of Henry's later marriages, while not surprised at their unfortunate consequences, yet smile at the interpretation which popular tradition has assigned to his conduct. Popular tradition is a less safe guide through difficult passages in history than the word of statesmen who were actors upon the stage, and were concerned personally in the conduct of the events which they describe.

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[1] *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 2.

CHAPTER XV.

THE EXETER CONSPIRACY.

THOSE who believe that human actions obey the laws of natural causation, might find their philosophy confirmed by the conduct of the great powers of Europe during the early years of the Reformation. With a regularity uniform as that on which we calculate in the application of mechanical forces, the same combinations were attended with identical effects; and given the relations between France and Spain, between Spain and Germany, between England and either of the three, the political situation of all Western Christendom could be estimated with as much certainty as the figure and dimensions of a triangle from the length of one of its sides and the inclination of two of its angles. When England was making advances towards the Lutherans, we are sure that France and Spain were in conjunction under the Papacy, and were menacing the Reformation. When such advances had been pushed forward into prominence, and there was a likelihood of a Protestant league, the Emperor was compelled to neutralize the danger by concessions to the German Diet, or by an

affectation of a desire for a reconciliation with Henry, to which Henry was always ready to listen. Then Henry would look coldly on the Protestants, and the Protestants on him. Then Charles could afford to lay the curb on Francis. Then Francis would again storm and threaten, till passion broke into war. War brought its usual consequences of mutual injury, disaster, and exhaustion; and then the Pope would interfere, and peace would follow, and the same round would repeat itself. Statesmen and kings made, as they imagined, their fine strokes of policy. A wisdom other than theirs condemned them to tread again and again the same ineffectual circle.

But while fact and necessity were thus inexorable, imagination remained uncontrolled; and efforts were made of all kinds, and on all sides, to find openings of escape. The Emperor had boasted, in 1528, that he would rid himself of the English difficulty by a revolution which should dethrone Henry. The experiment had been tried with no success hitherto, and with indifferent prospects for the future. Revolution failing, he believed that he might reconvert England to the Papacy; while both Henry and the Germans on their side had not ceased to hope that they might convert the Emperor to the Reformation. The perspective of Europe varied with the point of view of the various parties. The picture was arranged by prejudice, and coloured by inclination.

The overtures to England which Charles had commenced on the death of Catherine, had been checked by

Henry's haughty answer; and Charles had replied by an indirect countenance, through his ambassador, to Pole,[1] and to Lord Darcy. But the motives which had led to these overtures remained to invite their renewal; the insurrection was for the present prostrate, and the Emperor therefore withdrew his first step, and disowned his compromised minister in London. In June, 1537, Diego de Mendoza arrived at the English Court, with a commission to express in more emphatic terms the earnest wish of the Court of Spain for the renewal of the old alliance.

June.

The King had done enough for the protection of his dignity; prudence now recommended him to believe in Charles's sincerity. A solid understanding with Flanders was the best passport to the hearts of large portions of his subjects, whose interests were connected with the wool trade: he was himself ardently anxious to resume his place in the fraternity of European sovereigns. Mendoza was graciously received. Sir Thomas Wyatt was despatched into Spain with a corresponding mission; and Wyatt's instructions were couched in language which showed that, although the English Government were under no delusion as to Charles's late proceedings, they were ready to close their eyes to objects which they did not wish to see. Wyatt was directed to say that the proposals for a reconciliation which had been made by the late ambassadors had appeared so feeble, as to seem rather a device of policy to prevent the King of England from

[1] Pole to the Bishop of Liège: *Epist.* vol. ii. p. 41.

allying himself with France, than as intended in sincerity; M. de Mendoza, however, had removed all such unpleasant impressions; and although, if the Emperor would consider the past differences between the two Courts impartially, he must feel that the fault rested with himself, yet the English Government, on their side, were ready to set aside all painful recollections.[1] There were persons, indeed, who affirmed that the Emperor was still trifling, that Mendoza was playing a game, and that, in 'heart, deed, and words,' the Spanish Court were 'doing all they could to his Majesty's dishonour.'[2] Nay, even individuals could be found who boasted themselves to have refused some honest offers because they were knit with vile and filthy conditions towards his Majesty.[3] The King, however, set aside these rumours, as either without foundation, or as belonging to the past rather than the present. He required only, as a condition of renewed friendship, that if the Pope found the means of attacking England, Charles should bind himself to be no party to such an enterprise, but should oppose it 'to the uttermost of his power.'[4] In return, the Emperor might perhaps require that the Lady Mary should 'be restored to her rank as princess.' Some difficulty no doubt continued, and must continue, on this point. But it was a difficulty rather in form than in substance. The King desired that his daughter might be trusted to his honour: she might expect much from his generosity, if he was not

[1] NOTT'S *Wyatt*, p. 312. [2] Ibid. p. 319.
[3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. p. 322.

pressed to definite promises. Meanwhile, she herself had submitted without reserve; she had entreated pardon for her past disobedience, and accepted her position as illegitimate.[1] It was likely that she would retain her place in the line of succession. Should the King die without legitimate children, she would, in all probability, be his heir.

In confirmation of this language, Mary added a letter to the commission, in which, with her own hand, she assured the Emperor that she was satisfied, entreating him to 'repent,' as she had herself repented; and 'to take of her the tenour.'[2]

Thus instructed, Wyatt proceeded to Spain; and his reception was, on the whole, auspicious. On both sides, indeed, the hope of agreement on points of religion disappeared with the first words upon the subject. Mendoza offered in London the Emperor's mediation with the Pope. He received for answer that he might spare his labour. 'The disposition of the King's Highness was immutably against the said Bishop.'[3] The Em-

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[1] Mary's submission dates from the fall of Anne Boleyn. It was offered by her on the instant, in three successive letters; two of which are printed in the State Papers, a third is in MS. in the State Paper Office.

[2] 'And here Sir Thomas Wyatt shall deliver unto the Emperor the letter written unto him from the said Lady Mary, whereby it shall appear how she doth repent herself, and how she would that he should repent, and take of her the tenour. Whereof it shall like him to consider, it is not to be thought but it will acquit him therein, his Grace, nevertheless, being so good a lord and father to her as he is, and undoubtedly will be.'—Instructions to Sir Thomas Wyatt: NOTT'S *Wyatt*, p. 314.

[3] Cromwell to Wyatt: NOTT, p. 321.

peror in his opening interview spoke to Wyatt of the sickness of England, from which he trusted it would soon be recovered. Wyatt replied that England was conscious only of having cast off a chronic sickness which had lasted too long.

On the other hand, Charles, with equal resolution, declined a theological discussion, to which Henry had challenged him. 'If your Majesty,' wrote Wyatt, 'would hearken to the reconciling with the Bishop of Rome, he would be glad to travel in it. But if not, yet he will go through with you, and will continue ever in that mind, the same notwithstanding. And like as he is not lettred, so will he not charge your Majesty with the argument of the Bishop's state, but leave it alone to them that it toucheth.'[1]

On these terms, apparently satisfactory, the *entente cordiale* was restored between England and Spain. It was threatened by a cloud in November, when a truce[2] was concluded between Charles and Francis; but the light suspicion was dispelled by assurances that if the truce was followed by a peace, 'the King of England should be in the same as a principal contrahent;' 'that nothing should be therein concluded which might redound to his dishonour or miscontentment.'[3] The alli-

[1] *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 34.

[2] 'My lord: this shall be to advertise you that the Imperials and Frenchmen have taken a truce for ten months, which, as we think, be great news, and of great weight and moment. . Howbeit, my trust is, the King's Highness knows what is the occasion of this sudden turn, or else it will trouble my brain to think of it.'—Sir William Fitzwilliam to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xi.

[3] Henry VIII. to Wyatt: Nott's *Wyatt*.

ance promised stability: by skilful management it might be even more strongly cemented.

Dec. 23. The English council were now busily engaged in selecting a successor for Jane Seymour. Mendoza, in the name of the Emperor, proposed the Infanta of Portugal. 'The offer was thankfully taken,'[1] but was from some cause unwelcome, and died in its first mention. Cromwell had thrown out feelers in the various European courts. Madame de Longueville was thought of,[2] if she was not already destined for another throne.[3] Hutton, the English agent in Flanders, recommended several ladies as more or less desirable—a daughter of the Lord of Brederode, the Countess of Egmont, Anne of Cleves (of the latter, however, adding, that she was said to be plain), and finally, and with especial emphasis, Christina of Denmark, the young relict of the Duke of Milan, and the niece of the Emperor. The Duchess was tall, handsome, and, though a widow, not more than sixteen.[4] The alliance would be honourable in itself: it would be a link reconnecting England with the Empire; and, more important still, Charles in his consent would condone before the world the affront of the divorce of Catherine. One obstacle only presented itself, which, with skilful management, might perhaps prove a fresh recommendation. In the eyes of all persons of the Roman communion the marriage with Catherine was of course considered valid, and the lady stood

[1] Cromwell to Wyatt, November 29, 1537: NOTT'S *Wyatt*.

[2] Better known as Mary of Guise, mother of Mary Queen of Scots.

[3] Commission of Peter Mewtas to Madame de Longueville: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 10.

[4] Hutton to Sir Thomas Wriothesley: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 9.

towards her aunt's husband within the degrees of affinity in which marriage was unlawful without a dispensation from the Pope. This certainly was a difficulty; but it was possible that Charles's anxiety for the connection might induce him to break the knot, and break with the Papacy. On the Duchess of Milan, therefore, the choice of the English Government rested; and in January Sir Thomas Wyatt was directed to suggest to the Emperor, as of his own motion, that his niece would be a fit wife for the King.[1] The hint was caught at with gracious eagerness. Mendoza instantly received instructions to make the proposal in form, and, as if this single union was insufficient, to desire at the same time that Henry would bestow the Lady Mary on Don Louis of Portugal. Henry acquiesced, and, seeing Charles so forward, added to his acquiescence the yet further suggestion that the Prince of Wales should be betrothed to the Emperor's daughter, and Elizabeth to one of the many sons of the King of the Romans.[2] Both princes appeared to be overflowing with cordiality. Charles repeated his promises, that when peace was concluded with France, the King of England should be a contracting party. The Queen Regent wrote to Cromwell, thanking him for his zeal in forwarding the Emperor's interests with his master.[3] The Duchess of Milan sat for her picture to Holbein for Henry's cabinet,[4] and professed for herself that she

Jan. 22.

Feb. 22.

[1] Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Wyatt: NOTT's *Wyatt*.

[2] Same to the same: NOTT's *Wyatt*.

[3] *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 17.

[4] Hutton to Cromwell: ibid.

was wholly at her uncle's disposal.[1] Commissioners

[1] A story passes current with popular historians, that the Duchess of Milan, when Henry proposed for her, replied that she had but one head; if she had two, one should be at his Majesty's service. The less active imagination of contemporaries was contented with reporting that she had said that the English ministers need not trouble themselves to make the marriage; 'they would lose their labours, for she minded not to fix her heart that way.' Sir Thomas Wriothesley, who was then resident at Brussels, thought it worth his while to ask her whether these words had really been used by her.

'M. Ambassador,' she replied, 'I thank God He hath given me a better stay of myself than to be of so light sort. I assure you, that neither those words that you have spoken, nor any like to them, have passed at any time from my mouth; and so I pray you report for me.'

Wriothesley took courage upon this answer, and asked what was her real inclination in the matter.

At this she blushed exceedingly. 'As for mine inclination,' quoth she, 'what should I say? You know I am at the Emperor's commandment.' 'Yea, madam,' quoth Wriothesley; 'but this matter is of such nature, that there must be a concurrence between his commandment and your consent, or else you may percase repent it when it shall be too late. Your answer is such as may serve both for your modesty and for my satisfaction; and yet, if it were a little plainer, I could be the better contented.' With that she smiled, and again said, 'You know I am the Emperor's poor servant, and must follow his pleasure.' 'Marry,' quoth Wriothesley, 'then I may hope to be among the Englishmen that shall be first acquainted with my new mistress, for the Emperor hath instantly desired it. Oh, madam!' quoth he, 'how happy shall you be if it be your chance to be matched with my master. If God send you that hap, you shall be matched with the most gentle gentleman that liveth; his nature so benign and pleasant, that I think till this day no man hath heard many angry words pass his lips. As God shall help me, if he were no King, I think, an you saw him, you would say, that for his virtue, gentleness, wisdom, experience, goodliness of person, and all other qualities meet to be in a prince, he were worthy before all others to be made a king.' . . . . She smiled, and Wriothesley thought would have laughed out, had not her gravity forbidden it. . . . . She said she knew his Majesty was a good and noble prince. Her honest countenance, he added, and the few words that she wisely spake, together with that which he knew by her chamberers and servants, made him to think there could be no doubt of her.'—*State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 146.

had only to be appointed to draw the marriage treaty, and all might at once be arranged. The dispensation so far had not been mentioned. Mendoza, indeed, had again pressed Henry to accept the Emperor's good offices at the Vatican; but he had been met with a refusal so absolute as to forbid the further mooting of the question; and the negotiations for these several alliances being continued as amicably as before, the King flattered himself that the difficulty was waived, or else would be privately disposed of.

Either the Emperor's true intentions were better known in Paris than in London, or Francis was alarmed at the rapid friendship, and desired to chill down its temperature. While gracious messages and compliments were passing between England and Spain and Flanders, the Bishop of Tarbes was sent over with an offer on the part of the French to make Henry sole mediator in the peace, and with a promise that, in the matter of the general council, and in all other things, Francis would be 'his good brother and most entire friend.' The Emperor, the Bishop asserted on his own knowledge, was playing a part of mere duplicity. Whatever he said, or whatever others said for him, he had determined that England should not be comprehended in the treaty. The King would be left out—dropped out—in some way or other got rid of—when his friendship ceased to be of moment; and so he would find to his cost. March.

The warning might have been well meant, the offer might have been sincere, but the experience was too

recent of the elastic character of French promises. Henry refused to believe that Charles was deceiving him; he replied with a declaration of his full confidence in the Emperor's honour, and declined with cold courtesy the counter-advances of his rival. Yet he was less satisfied than he desired to appear. He sent to Sir T. Wyatt an account of the Bishop of Tarbes's expressions, desiring him to acquaint the Emperor with their nature, and with the answer which he had returned; but hinting at the same time, that although the general language of the Flemish and Spanish Courts was as warm as he could desire, yet so far it amounted only to words. The proposal to constitute him sole mediator in the peace was an advance upon the furthest positive step towards him which had been taken by Charles, and he requested a direct engagement in writing, both as to his comprehension in the intended treaty, and on the equally important subject alluded to by the Bishop, of the approaching council.[1]

Meanwhile the marriages, if once they were completed, would be a security for good faith in other matters; and on this point no difficulties were interposed till the middle of the spring. The amount of dotes and

[1] 'Mr Wyatt, now handle this matter in such earnest sort with the Emperor, as the King, who by your fair words hath conceived as certain to find assured friendship therein, be not deceived. The Frenchmen affirm so constantly and boldly that nothing spoken by the Emperor, either touching the principal contrahents or further alliance, hath any manner of good faith, but such fraud and deceit, that I assure you, on my faith, it would make any man to suspect his proceeding. Labour, Mr Wyatt, to cause the Emperor, if it be possible, to write.'—Cromwell to Wyatt: NOTT'S *Wyatt*, p. 333.

dowries, with the securities for their payment, the conditions under which Mary was to succeed to the crown, and other legal details, were elaborately discussed. At length, when the substance seemed all to be determined, and the form only to remain, the first official conference was opened on the 5th of April, with the Spanish commissioners, who, as was supposed, had come to London for that single and special purpose. The card castle so carefully raised crumbled into instant ruins—the solid ground was unsubstantial air. The commissioners had no commission: they would agree to nothing, arrange nothing, promise nothing. 'I never heard so many gay words, and saw so little effect ensue of the same,' wrote Cromwell in the passion of his disappointment; 'I begin to perceive that there is scarce any good faith in this world.'

April 5.

Henry's eyes were opening, but opening slowly and reluctantly. Though irritated for the moment, he listened readily to the excuses with which Charles was profusely ready; and if Charles had not been intentionally treacherous, he reaped the full advantage of the most elaborate deception. In the same month it was arranged between the Courts of France and Spain that the truce should, if possible, become a peace. The place of mediator, which Henry had rejected at the hands of France, had been offered to and accepted by the Pope, and the consequences foretold by the Bishop of Tarbes were now obviously imminent. Paul had succeeded at last, it seemed, in his great object—the two Catholic powers were about to be united. The effect of this reconcilia-

tion, brought about by such means, would be followed in all likelihood by a renewal of the project for an attack on the Reformation, and on all its supporters. Nice was chosen for the scene of the great event of pacification, which was to take place in June. The two sovereigns were to be present in person; the Pope would meet them, and sanctify the reconciliation with his blessing.

The Emperor continued, notwithstanding the change of circumstances, to use the same language of friendship towards Henry, and professed to be as anxious as ever for the maintenance of his connection with England. Wyatt himself partially, but not entirely, distrusted him, until his conduct no longer admitted any construction but the worst.

June. The affair at Nice was the central incident of the summer. Wyatt went thither in Charles's train. Paul came accompanied by Pole. Many English were present belonging to both parties: royal emissaries as spies—passionate Catholic exiles, flushed with hope and triumph. We see them, indistinctly, winding into one another's confidence—'practising' to worm out secrets—treachery undermined by greater treachery; and, at last, expectations but half gratified, a victory left but half gained. The two princes refused to see each other. They communicated only through the Pope. In the end, terms of actual peace could not be agreed upon. The conferences closed with the signature of a general truce, to last for ten years. One marked consolation only the Pope obtained.

Notwithstanding the many promises, Henry's name was not so much as mentioned by the Emperor. He was left out, as Wyatt expressed it, 'at the cart's tail.' Against him the Pope remained free to intrigue and the princes free to act, could Pole or his master prevail upon them. The secret history of the proceedings cannot be traced in this place, if indeed the materials exist which allow them to be traced satisfactorily. With infinite comfort, however, in the midst of the diplomatic trickeries, we discover one little island of genuine life on which to rest for a few moments—a group, distinctly visible, of English flesh and blood existences.

Henry, unable, even after the Nice meeting had been agreed upon, to relinquish his hopes of inducing other princes to imitate his policy towards Rome, was determined, notwithstanding avowals of reluctance on the part of Charles, that his arguments should have a hearing; and, as the instrument of persuasion, he had selected the facile and voluble Dr Bonner. Charles was on his way to the congress when the appointment was resolved upon.

Bonner crossed France to meet him; but the Emperor, either distrustful of his ability to cope with so skilful a polemic, or too busy to be trifled with, declined resolutely to have anything to do with him. Bonner was thus thrown upon Wyatt's hospitality, and was received by him at Villa Franca, where, for convenience and economy, the English embassy had secured apartments remote from the heat and crowd in Nice itself. Sir John Mason, Mr Blage, and other friends of the

ambassadors, were of the party. The future Bishop of London, it seems, though accepted as their guest, was not admitted to their intimacy; and, being set aside in his own special functions, he determined to console himself in a solid and substantial manner for the slight which had been cast upon him. In an evil hour for himself, three years after, he tried to revenge himself on Wyatt's coldness by accusations of loose living, and other calumnies. Wyatt, after briefly disposing of the charges against his own actions, retorted with a sketch of Bonner's.

'Come, now, my Lord of London,' he said, 'what is my abominable and vicious living? Do ye know it, or have ye heard it? I grant I do not profess chastity—but yet I use not abomination. If ye know it, tell with whom and when. If ye heard it, who is your author? Have you seen me have any harlot in my house while you were in my company? Did you ever see a woman so much as dine or sup at my table? None but, for your pleasure, the woman that was in the galley—which, I assure you, may be well seen—for, before you came, neither she nor any other woman came above the mast; but because the gentlemen took pleasure to see you entertain her, therefore they made her dine and sup with you. And they liked well your looks—your carving to Madonna—your drinking to her—and your playing under the table. Ask Mason—ask Blage—ask Wolf that was my steward. They can tell how the gentlemen marked it and talked of it. It was play to them, the keeping your bottles, that no man might drink of

them but yourself, and that the little fat priest was a jolly morsel for the signora. This was their talk. It was not my device. Ask others whether I do lie.'[1]

Such was Bonner. The fame, or infamy, which he earned for himself in later years condemns his minor vices to perpetual memory; or perhaps it is a relief to find that he was linked to mankind by participating in their more venial frailties.

Leaving Nice, with its sunny waters, and intrigues, and dissipations, we return to England.

Here the tide, which had been checked for awhile by the rebellion, was again in full flow. The abbeys within the compass of the Act had fallen, or were rapidly falling. Among these the demolition was going actively forward. Among the larger houses fresh investigations were bringing secrets into light which would soon compel a larger measure of destruction. The restoration of discipline, which had been hoped for, was found impossible. Monks, who had been saturated with habits of self-indulgence, mutinied and became unmanageable when confined within the convent walls.[2] Abbots in the confidence of the Government were accused as heretics. Catholic abbots were denounced as traitors. Countless

[1] Wyatt's Oration to the Judges: NOTT'S *Wyatt.*

[2] 'I have received three houses since I wrote last to your lordship, the which I think would not a little have moved your lordship, if ye had known the order of them: some sticking fast in windows, naked, going to drabs, so that the pillar was fain to be sawed, to have him out; some being plucked from under drabs' beds; some fighting, so that the knife hath stuck in the bones; with such other pretty business, of the which I have too much.'—Richard suffragan Bishop of Dover to Cromwell: *Suppression of the Monasteries*, p. 198.

letters lie among the State Papers, indicating in a thousand ways that the last hour of monasticism was approaching; that by no care of Government, no efforts to put back the clock of time, could their sickly vitality be longer sustained. Everywhere, as if conscious that their days were numbered, the fraternities were preparing for evil days by disposing of their relics,[1] secreting or selling their plate and jewels, cutting down the timber on the estates, using in all directions their last opportunity of racking out their properties. Many, either from a hope of making terms for themselves, or from an honest sense that they were unfit to continue, declared voluntarily that they would burden the earth no longer, and voted their own dissolution.

'We do profoundly consider,' said the warden and friars of St Francis in Stamford, 'that the perfection of a Christian living doth not consist in douce ceremonies, wearing of a grey coat, disguising ourselves after strange fashions, ducking and becking, girding ourselves with a girdle of knots, wherein we have been misled in times past; but the very true way to please God, and to live like Christian men without hypocrisy or feigned dissimulation, is sincerely declared unto us by our master Christ, his Evangelists and Apostles. Being minded, therefore, to follow the same, conforming ourselves unto the will and pleasure of our Supreme Head under God

[1] A finger of St Andrew was pawned at Northampton for 40*l.*; 'which we intend not,' wrote a dry visitor, 'to redeem of the price, except we be commanded so to do.' —*Suppression of the Monasteries*, p. 172.

in earth, and not to follow henceforth superstitious traditions, we do, with mutual assent and consent, surrender and yield up all our said house, with all its lands and tenements, beseeching the King's good grace to dispose of us as shall best stand with his most gracious pleasure.'[1]

'We,' said the prior and convent of St Andrew's, 'called religious persons, taking on us the habit and outward vesture of our rule, only to the intent to lead our lives in idle quietness, and not in virtuous exercise, in a stately estimation, and not in obedient humility, have, under the shadow of the said rule, vainly, detestably, and ungodly devoured the yearly revenues of our possessions in continual ingurgitations and farcings of our bodies, and other supporters of our voluptuous and carnal appetites, to the manifest subversion of devotion and cleanness of living, and to the most notable slander of Christ's holy Evangile, withdrawing from the minds of his Grace's subjects the truth and comfort which they ought to have by the faith of Christ, and also the honour due to the glorious majesty of God Almighty, stirring them with persuasions, engines, and policy to dead images and counterfeit relics for our damnable lucre; which our horrible abominations and long-covered hypocrisy, we revolving daily, and pondering in our sorrowful hearts, constrained by the anguish of our consciences, with hearts most contrite and repentant, do lamentably crave his Highness' most gracious par-

[1] Printed in FULLER's *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 394.

don'—they also submitting and surrendering their house.[1]

Six years had passed since four brave Suffolk peasants had burnt the rood at Dovercourt; and for their reward had received a gallows and a rope. The high powers of state were stepping now along the road which these men had pioneered, discovering, after all, that the road was the right road, and that the reward had been altogether an unjust one. The 'materials' of monastic religion were the real or counterfeit relics of real or counterfeit saints, and images of Christ or the Virgin, supposed to work miraculous cures upon pilgrims, and not supposed, but ascertained, to bring in a pleasant and abundant revenue to their happy possessors. A special investigation into the nature of these objects of popular devotion was now ordered, with results which more than any other exposure disenchanted the people with superstition, and converted their faith into an equally passionate iconoclasm. At Hales in Worcestershire was a phial of blood, as famous for its powers and properties as the blood of St Januarius at Naples. The phial was opened by the visitors in the presence of an awe-struck multitude. No miracle punished the impiety. The mysterious substance was handled by profane fingers, and was found to be a mere innocent gum, and not blood at all, adequate to work no miracle either to assist its worshippers or avenge its violation.[2] Another rare

[1] FULLER'S *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 398.

[2] 'According to your commission, we have viewed a certain supposed relic, called the blood of Hales, which was enclosed within a round

treasure was preserved at Cardigan. The story of Our Lady's taper there has a picturesque wildness, of which later ages may admire the legendary beauty, being relieved by three centuries of incredulity from the necessity of raising harsh alternatives of truth or falsehood. An image of the Virgin had been found, it was said, standing at the mouth of the Tivy river, with an infant Christ in her lap, and the taper in her hand burning. She was carried to Christ Church, in Cardigan, but 'would not tarry there.' She returned again and again to the spot where she was first found; and a chapel was at last built there to receive and shelter her. In this chapel she remained for nine years, the taper burning, yet not consuming, till some rash Welshman swore an

beryll, garnished and bound on every side with silver, which we caused to be opened in the presence of a great multitude of people. And the said supposed relic we caused to be taken out of the said beryll, and have viewed the same, being within a little glass, and also tried the same according to our powers, by all means; and by force of the view and other trials, we judge the substance and matters of the said supposed relic to be an unctuous gum, coloured, which, being in the glass, appeared to be a glistening red, resembling partly the colour of blood. And after, we did take out part of the said substance out of the glass, and then it was apparent yellow colour, like amber or base gold, and doth cleave as gum or bird-lime. The matter and feigned relic, with the glass containing the same, we have enclosed in red wax, and consigned it, with our seals.'—Hugh Bishop of Worcester, with the other Commissioners, to Cromwell: LATIMER'S *Remains*, p. 407.

The Abbot of Hales subsequently applied for permission to destroy the case in which the blood had been.

'It doth stand yet in the place where it was, so that I am afraid lest it should minister occasion to any weak person looking thereupon to abuse his conscience therewith; and therefore I beseech for license that I may put it down every stick and stone, so that no manner of token or remembrance of that forged relic shall remain.'—Abbot of Hales to Cromwell: *MS. Tanner*, 105.

oath by her, and broke it; and the taper at once went out, and never could be kindled again. The visitors had no leisure for sentiment. The image was torn from its shrine. The taper was found to be a piece of painted wood, and on experiment was proved submissive to a last conflagration.[1]

Kings are said to find the step a short one from deposition to the scaffold. The undeified images passed by a swift transition to the flames. The Lady of Worcester had been lately despoiled of her apparel. 'I trust,' wrote Latimer to the vicegerent, that 'your lordship will bestow our great sibyll to some good purpose—*ut pereat memoria cum sonitu*—she hath been the devil's instrument to bring many, I fear, to eternal fire. She herself, with her old sister of Walsingham, her younger sister of Ipswich, with their two other sisters of Doncaster and Penrice, would make a jolly muster in Smithfield. They would not be all day in burning.'[2] The hard advice was taken. The objects of the passionate devotion of centuries were rolled in carts to London as huge dishonoured lumber; and the eyes of the citizens were gratified with a more innocent immolation than those with which the Church authorities had been in the habit of indulging them.

The fate of the rood of Boxley, again, was a famous incident of the time. At Boxley, in Kent, there stood an image, the eyes of which on fit occasions 'did stir

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[1] Barlow to Cromwell: *Suppression of the Monasteries*, p. 183.

[2] Latimer to Cromwell: *Remains*, p. 395.

like a lively thing.' The body bowed, the forehead frowned. It dropped its lower lip, as if to speak.[1] The people saw in this particular rood, beyond all others, the living presence of Christ, and offerings in superabundant measure had poured in upon the monks. It happened that a rationalistic commissioner, looking closely, discovered symptoms of motion at the back of the figure. Suspicion caused inquiry, and inquiry exposure. The mystery had a natural explanation in machinery. The abbot and the elder brethren took refuge in surprise, and knew nothing. But the fact was patent; and the unveiled fraud was of a kind which might be useful. 'When I had seen this strange object,' said the discoverer, 'and considering that the inhabitants of the county of Kent had in times past a great devotion to the same image, and did keep continual pilgrimage thither, by the advice of others that were here with me, I did convey the said image unto Maidstone on the market day; and in the chief of the market time did shew it openly unto all the people then being present, to see the false, crafty, and subtle handling thereof, to the dishonour of God and illusion of the said people; who, I dare say, if the late monastery were to be defaced again (the King's Grace not offended), they would either pluck it down to the ground, or else burn it; for they have the said matter in wondrous detestation and hatred.'[2]

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[1] Jeoffrey Chambers to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series.

[2] Ibid. *MS. State Paper Office*, second series.

February. But the rood was not allowed to be forgotten after a single exhibition; the imposture was gross, and would furnish a wholesome comment on the suppression, if it was shown off in London. From Maidstone, therefore, it was taken to the palace at Whitehall, and performed before the Court.[1] From the palace it was carried on to its last judgment and execution at Paul's Cross. It was placed upon a stage opposite the pulpit, and passed through its postures, while the Bishop of Rochester lectured upon it in a sermon. When the crowd was worked into adequate indignation, the scaffold was made to give way, the image fell, and in a few moments was torn in pieces.

Thus in all parts of England superstition was attacked in its strongholds, and destroyed there. But the indignation which was the natural recoil from credulity would not be satisfied with the destruction of images. The idol was nothing. The guilt was not with the wood and stone, but in the fraud and folly which had practised with these brute instruments against the souls

April. of men. In Scotland and the Netherlands the work of retribution was accomplished by a rising of the people themselves in armed revolution. In England the readiness of the Government spared the

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[1] 'Invisit aulam regis, regem ipsum novus hospes. Conglomerant ipsum risu aulico barones duces marchiones comites. Agit ille, minatur oculis, aversatur ore, distorquet nares; mittit deorsum caput, incurvat dorsum, annuit aut renuit. Rex ipse incertum gaviusne magis ob patefactam imposturam an magis doluerit ex animo tot seculis miseræ plebi fuisse impositum.'—Hooker to Bullinger: *Original Letters on the Reformation.*

need of a popular explosion; the monasteries were not sacked by mobs, or the priests murdered; but the same fierceness, the same hot spirit of anger, was abroad, though confined within the restraints of the law. The law itself gave effect, in harsh and sanguinary penalties, to the rage which had been kindled.

The punishments under the Act of Supremacy were not wholly censurable. No Governments can permit their subjects to avow an allegiance to an alien and hostile power; and the executions were occasioned, I have observed already, by the same necessity, and must be regarded with the same feelings, as the deaths of brave men in battle, who, in questions of life and death, take their side to kill others or be killed. A blind animosity now betrays itself in an act of needless cruelty, for the details of which no excuse can be pleaded by custom or precedent, which clouds the memory of the greatest of the Reformers, and can be endured only, when regarded at a distance, as an instance of the wide justice of Providence, which punishes wrong by wrong, and visits on single men the offences of thousands.

Forest, the late Prior of the Observants' Convent at Greenwich, since the dissolution of his order in consequence of the affair of the Nun of Kent, had halted between a state of concealed disaffection and pretended conformity. In his office of confessor he was found to have instructed his penitents that, for himself, 'he had denied the Bishop of Rome in his outward, but not in his inward man;' and he had encouraged them, notwithstanding their oath, to persevere in their own allegi-

ance. He had thus laid himself open to prosecution for treason; and whatever penalty was due to an avowal of being the Pope's liegeman had been doubly earned by treachery. If he had been tried and had suffered like Sir Thomas More and the Monks of the Charterhouse, his sentence would have ranked with theirs. The same causes which explained the executions of honourable men would have applied with greater force to that of one who had deepened his offences by duplicity. But the Crown prosecutors, for some unknown reason, bestowed upon him a distinction in suffering.

When first arrested he was terrified: he acknowledged his offences, submitted, and was pardoned. But his conscience recovered its strength: he returned to his loyalty to the Papacy; he declared his belief that, in matters spiritual, the Pope was his proper sovereign, that the Bishop of Rochester was a martyr, as Thomas à Becket had been a martyr. Becket he held up as the pattern of all churchmen's imitation, courting for himself Becket's fortunes.[1] Like others, he attempted a

[1] 'He said that blessed man St Thomas of Canterbury suffered death for the rights of the Church; for there was a great man—meaning thereby King Harry the Second—which, because St Thomas of Canterbury would not grant him such things as he asked, contrary to the liberties of the Church, first banished him out of this realm; and at his return he was slain at his own church, for the right of Holy Church, as many holy fathers have suffered now of late; as that holy father the Bishop of Rochester: and he doubteth not but their souls be now in heaven.

'He saith and believeth that he ought to have a double obedience: first, to the King's Highness, by the law of God; and the second to the Bishop of Rome, by his rule and profession.

'He confesseth that he used and practised to induce men in confession to hold and stick to the old fashion

distinction in the nature of allegiance. 'In matters secular his duty was to his prince.' But, on the threshold of the exception lay the difficulty which no Catholic could evade—what was the duty of a subject when a king was excommunicated, and declared to have forfeited his crown?

Forest, therefore, fell justly under the treason law. But, inasmuch as Catholic churchmen declared the denial of the Pope's supremacy to be heresy, so, for a few unfortunate months, English churchmen determined the denial of the King's supremacy to be heresy; Forest was to be proceeded against for an offence against spiritual truth as well as a crime against the law of the land; and Cranmer is found corresponding with Cromwell on the articles on which he was to be examined.[1] I do not know that the document which I am about to quote was composed for this special occasion. For the first, and happily the last time, the meaning of it was acted upon.

In an official paper of about this date, I find 'heresy' defined to be 'that which is against Scripture.' 'To say, therefore, that Peter and his successors be heads of the universal Church, and stand stubbornly in it, is heresy, because it is against Scripture (Ecclesiastes v.);

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of belief, that was used in the realm of long time past.'—*Rolls House MS.*

[1] 'The Bishop of Worcester and I will be to-morrow with your lordship, to know your pleasure concerning Friar Forest. For if we should proceed against him according to the order of the law, there must be articles devised beforehand which must be ministered unto him; and therefore it will be very well done that one draw them against our meeting.'—Cranmer to Cromwell: CRANMER'S *Works*, vol. i. p. 239.

where it is written, 'Insuper universæ terræ rex imperat servienti'—that is to say, the King commandeth the whole country as his subjects; and therefore it followeth that the Bishop of Rome, which is in Italy where the Emperor is king, is subject to the Emperor, and that the Emperor may command him; and if he should be head of the universal Church, then he should be head over the Emperor, and command the Emperor, and that is directly against the said text, Ecclesiastes v. Wherefore, to stand in it opiniatively is heresy.'[1] In the spirit, if not in the letter of this monstrous reasoning, Forest was indicted for heresy in a court where we would gladly believe that Cranmer did not sit as president. He was found guilty, and was delivered over, in the usual form, to the secular arm.

An accidental coincidence contributed to the dramatic effect of his execution. In a chapel at Llan Dderfel, in North Wales, there had stood a figure of an ancient Welsh saint, called Dderfel Gadern. The figure was a general favourite. The Welsh people 'came daily in pilgrimage to him, some with kyne, some with oxen and horses, and the rest with money, insomuch' (I quote a letter of Ellis Price, the Merionethshire visitor) 'that there were five or six hundred, to a man's estimation, that offered to the said image the fifth day of this month of April. The innocent people hath been sore allured and enticed to worship, insomuch that there is a common saying amongst them

[1] *Rolls House MS.* A 1, 7, fol. 213.

that, whosoever will offer anything to the image of Dderfel Gadern, he hath power to fetch him or them that so offer, out of hell.'[1] The visitor desired to know what he should do with Dderfel Gadern, and received orders to despatch the thing at once to London. The parishioners offered to subscribe forty pounds to preserve their profitable possession,[2] but in vain—Cromwell was ruthless. The image was sent to the same destination with the rest of his kind; and, arriving opportunely, it was hewn into fuel to form the pile where the victim of the new heresy court was to suffer.

A day at the end of May was fixed for Forest's death. Latimer was selected to preach on the occasion; and a singular letter remains from him from which I try to gather that he accepted reluctantly the ungrateful service. 'Sir,' he addressed Cromwell, 'if it be your pleasure, as it is, that I shall play the fool after my customable manner when Forest shall suffer, I would wish that my stage stood near unto Forest, for I would endeavour myself so to content the people, that therewith I might also convert Forest, God so helping, or, rather, altogether working. Wherefore, I would that he shall hear what I shall say—*si forte*. If he would yet, with his heart, return to his abjuration, I would wish his pardon, such is my foolishness.'[3] The gleam of pity, though so faint and feeble that it

May.

[1] Ellis Price to Cromwell: *MS. Cotton. Cleopatra*, E 4.

[2] *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xxxiv.

[3] Latimer to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xlix.; LATIMER'S *Letters*, p. 391.

seemed a thing to be ashamed of, is welcome from that hard time. The preparations were made with a horrible completeness. It was the single supremacy case which was conducted upon ecclesiastical principles, and where treason was identified with heresy. A gallows was erected over the stake, from which the wretched victim was to be suspended in a cradle of chains. When the machinery was complete, and the chips of the idol lay ready, he was brought out and placed upon a platform. The Lord Mayor, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Lord Southampton, and Cromwell were present with a pardon, if at the last moment his courage should fail, and he would ask for it. The sermon began. It was of the usual kind—the passionate language of passionate conviction. When it was over Latimer turned to Forest, and asked him whether he would live or die. 'I will die,' was the gallant answer. 'Do your worst upon me. Seven years ago you durst not, for your life, have preached such words as these; and now, if an angel from heaven should come down and teach me any other doctrine than that which I learnt as a child, I would not believe him. Take me; cut me to pieces, joint from joint. Burn—hang—do what you will—I will be true henceforth to my faith.'[1] It was enough. He was laid upon his iron bed, and slung off into the air, and the flame was kindled. In his mortal agony he clutched at the steps of the ladder, to sway himself out of the blaze; and the pitiless chronicler, who records

[1] Stow's *Chronicle*, p. 575.

the scene, could see only in this last weakness an evidence of guilt. 'So impatiently,' says Hall, 'he took his death as never any man that put his trust in God.'[1]

Still the torrent rolled onward. Monasteries and images were gone, and fancied relics in endless numbers. There remained the peculiar treasures of the great abbeys and cathedrals—the mortal remains of the holy men in whose memories they had been founded, who by martyrs' deaths, or lives of superhuman loftiness, had earned the veneration of later ages. The bodies of the saints had been gathered into costly shrines, which a beautiful piety had decorated with choicest offerings. In an age which believed, without doubt or pretence, that the body of a holy man was incorporated into the body of Christ, that the seeming dust was pure as Christ's body was pure, and would form again the living home of the spirit which had gone away but for awhile, such dust was looked upon with awe and pious fear. Sacred influences were imagined to exhale from it. It was a divine thing, blessed and giving blessing. Alas! that the noblest feelings can pass so swiftly into their opposites, that reverent simplicity should become the parent of a miserable superstition! The natural instinct of veneration had ossified into idolatry, and saints' bones became charms and talismans. The saints themselves became invisible under the swathings of lies. The serpent of healing had become a Nehushtan—an accursed thing,

[1] Hall, p. 875, followed by Foxe.

and, with the system to which it belonged, was to pass away and come no more.

August. The sheriffs and magistrates of the various counties received circulars from the vicegerent, directing that 'whereas prayers were offered at the shrines which were due to God only, that the honour which belonged to the Creator was by a notable superstition given to the creature, and ignorant people, enticed by the clergy, had fallen thereby into great error and idolatry,' they were to repair severally to the cathedrals, churches, or chapels in which any such shrine might be. The relics, reliquaries, gold, silver, or jewels, which they contained, were to be taken out and sent to the King; and they were to see with their own eyes the shrine itself levelled to the ground, and the pavement cleared of it.[1] The order was fulfilled with or without reluctance. Throughout England, by the opening of the year 1539, there was nothing left to tell of the presence of the saints but the names which clung to the churches which they had built, or the shadowy memories which hung about their desecrated tombs.

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[1] *MS. State Paper Office*, unarranged bundle. The command was obeyed so completely, that only a single shrine now remains in England; and the preservation of this was not owing to the forbearance of the Government. The shrine of Edward the Confessor, which stands in Westminster Abbey, was destroyed with the rest. But the stones were not taken away. The supposed remains of St Edward were in some way preserved; and the shrine was reconstructed, and the dust replaced, by Abbot Feckenham, in the first year of Queen Mary.—Oration of Abbot Feckenham in the Parliament House: *MS. Rawlinson, Bodleian Library.*

Only in one instance was the demolition of a shrine marked by anything peculiar.

The aim from the beginning of the movement, both of the King and the Parliament, had been to represent their measures, not as new things, but as a reassertion of English independence, a revival of the historical policy of the English kings. From the defeat of Henry II., on the death of Becket, to the accession of the House of Lancaster, the Plantagenet princes had fought inch by inch for the recovery of the ground which had been lost. After sleeping a century and a half, the battle had recommenced; and the Crown was determined to inaugurate its victories by the disgrace and destruction of the famous champion whose spirit still seemed to linger in the field. On the 18th of August Cranmer informed the vicegerent that he suspected that the blood of St Thomas of Canterbury shown in the cathedral was an imposture, like the blood of Hales, 'a feigned thing, made of some red ochre, or such like matter.'[1] He desired that there might be an investigation, and mentioned Dr Legh and his own chaplain as persons fitted for the conduct of it. The request appears to have been granted, and the suspicion about the blood to have been confirmed.[2] The opportunity was taken to settle accounts in full with the hero of the Eng-

August 18.

[1] Cranmer to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. i.

[2] 'The abuses of Canterbury' are placed by the side of those of Boxley in one of the official statements of the times. — Sir T. Wriothesley to Henry VIII. Nov. 20, 1538: *State Papers*, vol. viii.

lish Church. On the 30th of September the
Sept. 30. shrine and the relics were shown, perhaps for the last time, to Madame de Montreuil and a party of French ladies.[1] In the following month the
October. bones of the martyr who for centuries had been venerated throughout Europe, which peers and princes had crossed the seas to look upon, which tens of thousands of pilgrims year after year for all those ages had crowded to reverence, were torn from their hallowed resting-place, and burnt to powder, and scattered to the winds. The golden plating of the shrine, the emeralds and rubies, the votive offerings of the whole Christian world, were packed in chests, and despatched to the treasury. The chiselled stone was splintered with hammers. The impressions worn upon the pavement by the millions of knees[1] which had bent in adoration there, alone remained to tell of the glory which had been. Simultaneously with the destruction of his remains, Becket's name was erased out of the service-

[1] Madame de Montreuil, though a Frenchwoman and a good Catholic, had caught the infection of the prevailing unbelief in saints and saintly relics.

'I showed her St Thomas's shrine,' writes an attendant, 'and all such other things worthy of sight, of the which she was not little marvelled of the great riches thereof, saying it to be innumerable, and that if she had not seen it all the men in the world could never have made her to believe it. Thus overlooking and viewing more than an hour as well the shrine as St Thomas's head, being at both set cushions to kneel, the prior, opening St Thomas's head, said to her three times, this is St Thomas's head, and offered her to kiss it, but she neither kneeled nor would kiss it, but (stood), still viewing the riches thereof.'—Penison to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 583.

[2] These marks are still distinctly visible.

books, the innumerable church windows in which his history was painted were broken, the day which commemorated his martyrdom was forbidden to be observed; and in explanation of so exceptional a vehemence an official narrative was published by the Government of the circumstances of his end, in which he was described as a traitor to the State, who had perished in a scuffle provoked by his own violence.[1]

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[1] BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 494. A story was current on the Continent, and so far believed as to be alluded to in the great bull of Paul the Third, that an apparitor was sent to Canterbury to serve a citation at Becket's tomb, summoning 'the late archbishop' to appear and answer to a charge of high treason. Thirty days were allowed him. When these were expired a proctor was charged with his defence. He was tried and condemned—his property, consisting of the offerings at the shrine, was declared forfeited—and he himself was sentenced to be exhumed and burnt. In the fact itself there is nothing absolutely improbable, for the form said to have been observed was one which was usual in the Church, when dead men, as sometimes happened, were prosecuted for heresy; and if I express my belief that the story is without foundation, I do so with diffidence, because negative evidence is generally of no value in the face of respectable positive assertion. All contemporary English authorities, however, are totally silent on a subject which it is hard to believe that they would not at least have mentioned. We hear generally of the destruction of the shrine, but no word of the citation and trial. A long and close correspondence between Cromwell and the Prior of Canterbury covers the period at which the process took place, if it took place at all, and not a letter contains anything which could be construed into an allusion to it.—Letters of the Prior of Canterbury to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series.

So suspicious a silence justifies a close scrutiny of the authorities on the other side. There exist two documents printed in WILKINS'S *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 835, and taken from POLLINI'S *History of the English Reformation*, which profess to be the actual citation and actual sentence issued on the occasion. If these are genuine, they decide the question; but, unfortunately for their authenticity, the dates of the documents are, respectively, April and May, 1538, and in both of them Henry is styled, among his official titles, Rex Hiberniæ. Now Henry

The executions of More and Fisher had convulsed Europe; but the second shock was felt as much more deeply than the first as the glory of the saint is above the fame of the highest of living men. The impious tyrant, it now seemed, would transfer his warfare even into heaven, and dethrone the gods. The tomb of Becket was the property of Christendom rather than of England. There was scarcely a princely or a noble family on the Continent some member of which had not at one time or other gone thither on pilgrimage, whose wealth had not contributed something to the treasure which was now seized for the royal coffers. A second act had opened in the drama—a crisis fruitful in great events at home and abroad.

The first immediate effect was on the treaty for the King's marriage. Notwithstanding the trifling of the commissioners in April—notwithstanding the pacification of Nice, and the omission of the King's name among the contracting parties—Charles succeeded in persuading Wyatt that he was as anxious as ever for the completion of the entire group of the proposed connections; and Henry, on his part, was complacently

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did not assume the title of Rex Hiberniæ till two years later. Dominus Hiberniæ, or Lord of Ireland, is his invariable designation in every authentic document of the year to which these are said to belong. This itself is conclusively discrediting. If further evidence is required, it may be found in the word 'Londini,' or London, as the date of both citation and sentence. Official papers were never dated from London, but from Westminster, St James's, or Whitehall: or if from London, then from the particular place in London, as the Tower. Both mistakes would have been avoided by an Englishman, but are exceedingly natural in a foreign inventor.

credulous. The country was impatient to see him provided with a wife who might be the mother of a Duke of York. Day after day the council remonstrated with him on the loss of precious time;[1] and however desirable in itself the Imperial alliance appeared, his subjects were more anxious that he should be rapidly married somewhere, than that even for such an object there should be longer delay.

Charles, meanwhile, on his side continued to give fair words; and the King, although warned, as he avowed, on all sides, to put no faith in them, refused to believe that the Emperor would cloud his reputation with so sustained duplicity; and in August, while still dallying with the French offers, he sent Sir Thomas Wriothesley to Flanders, to obtain, if possible, some concluding answer.

The Regent, in receiving Wriothesley, assured him that his master's confidence was well placed—that 'the Emperor was a prince of honour,' and never meant 'to proceed with any practice of dissimulation.' Whatever

[1] 'We be daily instructed by our nobles and council to use short expedition in the determination of our marriage, for to get more increase of issue, to the assurance of our succession; and upon their oft admonition of age coming fast on, and (seeing) that the time flyeth and slippeth marvellously away, we be minded no longer to lose time as we have done, which is of all losses the most irrecuperable.'—Henry VIII. to Sir T. Wriothesley: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 116.

'Unless his Highness bore a notable affection to the Emperor, and had a special remembrance of their antient amity, his Majesty could never have endured to have been kept thus long in balance, his years, and the daily suits of his nobles and council well pondered.'—Wriothesley to Cromwell: ibid. p. 160.

others might choose to say, both she and her brother remained in one mind and purpose, and desired nothing better than to see the Duchess Christina Queen of England.[1] Her language remained similarly cordial till the beginning of October; and, as the least violent hypothesis is generally the safest, it may be believed that till this time the Emperor had really entertained, or had not as yet relinquished, the intention of bestowing his niece as he professed to wish. But from the end of the autumn the tide turned, and soon flowed visibly the other way. There was no abrupt conclusion—the preliminaries were wearily argued day after day. The English minister was still treated with courtesy; but his receptions had lost their warmth, and with Court and people his favour chilled with the changing season. He was taunted with the English apostasy from the Church. 'It is said that religion is extinct among us,' he wrote in November—'that we have no masses—that the saints are burned—and all that was taken for holy clearly subverted.'[2] Each day the prospect became visibly darker: from cordiality there was a change to politeness—from politeness to distance—from distance to something like a menace of hostility. The alteration can without difficulty be interpreted.

October.

Nov. 20.

The intentions of the Papal Court had been made known by Michael Throgmorton, in his letter to Crom-

[1] See the Wriothesley Correspondence: *State Papers*, vol. viii.

[2] Wriothesley to Henry VIII. November 20, 1538: *State Papers*, vol. viii.

well. The Pope's movements were, perhaps, quickened when the insult to the martyr's bones became known to him. The opportunity was in every way favourable. France and Spain were at peace; the Catholic world was exasperated by the outrage at Canterbury. The hour was come—the Pontiff rose upon his throne, and launched with all his might his long-forged thunderbolt. Clement's censure had been mild sheet lightning, flickering harmlessly in the distance: Paul's was the forked flash, intended to blight and kill. Reginald Pole, his faithful adherent, had by this time re-written his book: he had enriched it with calumnies, either freshly learned, or made credible in his new access of frenzy. It was now printed, and sown broadcast over Christendom. Paul appended a postscript to his Bull of Deposition, explaining the delay in the issue: not, as he had explained that delay to Henry himself, by pretending that he had executed no more than a form which had never been intended for use; but professing to have withheld a just and necessary punishment at the intercession of the European sovereigns. But his mercy had been despised, his long-suffering had been abused, and the monstrous King had added crime to crime, killing living priests and profaning the sepulchres of the dead. In his contempt for religion he had cited the sainted Thomas of Canterbury to be tried as a traitor; he had passed an impious sentence upon him as contumacious. The blessed bones, through which Almighty God had worked innumerable miracles, he had torn from their shrine of gold, and burnt them sacri-

1539. January.

legiously to ashes. He had seized the treasures consecrated to Heaven; he had wasted and robbed the houses of religion; and, as he had transformed himself into a wild beast, so to the beasts of the field he had given honour beyond human beings. He had expelled the monks from their houses, and turned his cattle among the vacant ruins. These things he had done, and his crimes could be endured no longer. As a putrid member he was cut off from the Church.

The book and the excommunication being thus completed and issued, Pole was once more despatched to rouse the Emperor to invasion, having again laid a train to explode, as he hoped successfully, when the Spanish troops should land.

The Pope's intentions must have been made known to Charles before they were put in force, and interpret the change of treatment experienced by Wriothesley. Whether, as a sovereign prince, he would or would not consent to give the active support which was to be demanded of him, the Emperor, perhaps, had not determined even in his own mind; but at least he would not choose the opportunity to draw closer his connection with the object of the Church's censures.

On the 21st of January Wriothesley wrote to Cromwell that he had no more hopes of the Duchess of Milan, and that the King must look elsewhere. 'If this marriage may not be had,' he said, 'I pray his Grace may fix his noble stomach in some such other place as may

[1] Bull of Paul III. against Henry VIII.: printed in BURNET's *Collectanea.*

be to his quiet.' 'And then,' he added, chafed with the slight which had been passed upon his sovereign, 'I fear not to see the day, if God give me life but for a small season, that as his Majesty is father to all Christian Kings in time of reign and excellency of wisdom, so his Highness shall have his neighbours in that stay that they shall be glad to do him honour and to yield unto him his own.'[1]

For the present, however, the feeling of the Netherlanders was of mere hostility. The ruin of England was talked of as certain and instant. James of Scotland and Francis were 'to do great things,' and 'the Emperor, it might be, would assist them.' The ambassador tossed aside their presages. 'These men,' said one of his despatches, 'publicly tell me how the Bishop of Rome hath now given a new sentence against the King's Majesty. I discourse to them how much every of the princes of Europe is bound to his Majesty; what every of them hath to do for himself; how little need we have to care for them if they would all break their faith and for kindness show ingratitude; and I show myself, besides, of no less hope than to see his Majesty, as God's minister, correct that tyrant—that usurper of Rome—even within Rome's gates, to the glory of God, and the greatest benefit that ever came to Christendom.'[2] Jan. 21.

But, though Wriothesley carried himself proudly,

[1] Wriothesley Correspondence: *State Papers*, vol. viii.
[2] Wriothesley to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. viii.

his position was embarrassing. The Regent grew daily more distant, her ministers more threatening. The Spaniards resident in England were suddenly observed to be hastening away, carrying their properties with them. At length, on the 21st of February, a proclamation was sent out laying all English ships in Flanders under arrest. Mendoza was recalled from London, and the common conversation on the Bourse at Antwerp was that the united force of France and the Empire would be thrown immediately on the English coasts.[1]

Feb. 21.

For a closer insight into the Emperor's conduct, I must again go back over the ground. The history at this point is woven of many fibres.

Pole's book was published in November or December. His expedition into Spain followed immediately after; and, feeling some little misgiving as to the Emperor's approbation of his conduct, he thought it prudent to prepare his appearance by a general defence of his position. A rebellious subject engaged in levying war against his sovereign might interest the Papacy; but the example might easily appear more questionable in the eyes of secular princes. His book, he said in an apology addressed to Charles, had been written originally in obedience to orders from England. He had published it when the Pope instructed him to vindicate the severity of the censures. His present duty was to expose in the European Courts the

1538. December.

[1] Stephen Vaughan to Cromwell, Feb. 21, 1539: ibid.

iniquity of the King of England—to show that, as an adversary of the Church, he was infinitely more formidable than the Sultan—and that the arms of the Emperor, if he wished well to the interests of religion, should be specially directed against the chief offender.[1] When the King's crimes were understood in detail the Christian sovereigns would see in their enormity that such a monster must be allowed to vex the earth no longer. He recapitulated the heads of his book, and Henry's history as he there had treated it. In an invective against Cromwell he bathed his name in curses;[2] while he compared the King to Nero, and found the Roman tyrant innocent in the contrast. Finally, he closed his address with a peroration, in which he quoted and applied the prophecy of Daniel on the man of sin. Henry of England was the king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences, who was to stand up in the latter time and set himself above all that was called God; whose power should be mighty, but not by his

[1] 'Of the evils which now menace Christendom those are held most grievous which are threatened by the Sultan. He is thought most powerful to hurt: he must first be met in arms. My words will bear little weight in this matter. I shall be thought to speak in my own quarrel against my personal enemy. But, as God shall judge my heart, I say that, if we look for victory in the East, we must assist first our fellow Christians, whom the adversary afflicts at home. This victory only will ensure the other.'—*Apol. ad Car. Quint.*

[2] He speaks of Cromwell as 'a certain man,' a 'devil's ambassador,' 'the devil in the human form.' He doubts whether he will defile his pages with his name. As great highwaymen, however, murderers, parricides, and others, are named in history for everlasting ignominy, as even the devils are named in Holy Scripture, so he will name Cromwell. —*Apol. ad Car. Quint.*

own power; who should destroy wonderfully, and prosper, and practise, and destroy the mighty and the holy people; who should rise up against the Prince of princes, but in the end be broken without hand.[1]

Pole's business was to supply the eloquent persuasions. A despatch from Paul furnished the more worldly particulars which the Emperor would desire to know before engaging in an enterprise which had been discussed so often, and which did not appear more easy on closer inspection. James the Fifth, the Pope said, would be ready to assist, with his excellent minister, David Beton. If only the war with the Turks were suspended, the other difficulties might be readily overcome. The Turks could be defeated only at a great expense, and a victory over them would do little for religion. The heart of all the mischief in the world lay in England, in the person of the King. Charles must strike there, and minor diseases would afterwards heal of themselves.[2]

January. The English Government had agents in Rome whose business was to overhear conversations, though held in the most secret closet in the Vatican; to bribe secretaries to make copies of private despatches; to practise (such was the word) for intelligence by fair means, or else by foul: and they did their work. Pole's movements and Pole's intentions

[1] *Apol. ad Car. Quint.*

[2] Instructions to Reginald Pole: *Epist.* vol. ii. p. 279, &c. Pole's admiring biographer ventures to say that 'he was declared a traitor for causes which do not seem to come within the article of treason.'—PHILIPS'S *Life of Reginald Pole*, p. 277.

were known in London as soon as they were known at Toledo; and simultaneously another fragment of information was forwarded from Italy, as important in itself, as, doubtless, the manner in which it was procured was questionable. Access was obtained, either by bribery or other form of treachery, to a letter from some person high in Paul's confidence at Rome, to the Cardinal of Seville; opportunity, perhaps, did not permit the completion of a transcript, but an analysis, with considerable extracts, found its way into the hands of Cromwell. The letter stated that an Irish nobleman, evidently the Earl of Desmond, had sent a confidential agent to the Pope to explain at length the weakness of the English authority in Ireland, to describe the impunity with which the Earl had resisted and despised it, and to state further how the same illustrious personage, for the discharge of his soul, was now ready to transfer his allegiance to his Holiness. 'England,' so Desmond had declared, was in confusion, utter and hopeless. 'Fathers were against sons, husbands against wives, the commonalty risen one against another;' . . . . 'perceiving their divisions, he had been with a great part of Ireland to know their wills and minds, and also with the bishops and the religious houses; and not only the great men of power, but also the people, all with one voice would be ready to give aid against the King of England. He had added a demand which bore some witness to the energy with which Henry had strengthened the Government at Dublin since the Geraldine rebellion. 'Thirty thousand Spaniards,' the Earl said,

'with all things necessary for them, with artillery, powder, ships, galleys, and pinnaces, would be required to insure the conquest.' If these could be landed, Desmond would guarantee success, Ireland should be re-annexed to the Holy See; and he would himself undertake the Government as viceroy, paying a revenue to Paul of one hundred thousand ducats. The expedition would be costly, but the expenses would fall neither on his Holiness nor on the Emperor. Desmond, with armed privateers, would seize and deliver into the hands of the Pope the persons of a sufficient number of the heretical English, whose ransoms would defray the necessary outlay; and an insurrection in behalf of the Holy See might be anticipated with certainty in England itself.

This being the substance of the Irish message, 'His Holiness, perceiving the good mind of these gentlemen in God's behalf, had determined to desire amongst all Christian kings to have aid in this matter for charity, to aid the good Christian people of Ireland.'

'His Holiness says,' concluded the letter, 'that if at the general council amongst the kings he cannot have aid to obtain this holy work, then he will desire them that they will agree and consent that certain pardons may be received in their realms, and that they may give liberty that the bishops may constrain the commonalty to receive the said pardons, and it shall be declared that all such money shall be used for the conquest of Barbary; and that his Holiness will take upon him the said conquest of Barbary with the accord of the Empe-

ror. If the above will not suffice, then his Holiness will give order and desire for the maintenance and defence of the holy faith, to all bishops, archbishops, cardinals, legates, deans, canons, priests, and curates, and also to all sorts of monasteries, to help with certain money which may be needful, to subdue and proceed in this good deed. And he will desire the Most Christian King of France, and also the King of Scots, to have amongst them aid in his behalf, inasmuch as they and their kingdoms are nigh to the said island of Ireland. And immediately that the fleet shall be together to go for Barbary, then shall the most part go for Ireland unto the gentleman that hath written to his Holiness to uphold the Holy See, that his Holiness may sustain Holy Mother Church from that tyrant of England, the which goes to confound the Holy See of St Peter and the governors and ministers of it. And God give unto all good Christians strength to confound the antichrist of England and the dog Luther his brother.'[1]

Never, perhaps, since the beginning of time had such a provision of 'ways and means' been devised for a military enterprise as was found in the financial suggestions of this Papal Hibernian war scheme. Nevertheless, when so many Spanish ships annually haunted the harbours of Munster, a few thousand men might be thrown on shore there without particular difficulty. The exchequer was in no condition to endure a repetition of the insurrection of Lord Fitzgerald, which had

[1] News which was sent from Rome unto the Cardinal Bishop of Seville: *Rolls House MS.*

cost forty thousand pounds; and, with the encouragement of an auxiliary force, another similar rising, with its accompanying massacres, might be easily anticipated. Though invasion might be confidently faced in England, it was within the limits of possibility that Ireland might be permanently lost.

With such materials in their hands, more skilful antagonists than Paul III. or Cardinal Pole might have accomplished something considerable; but Paul's practical ability may be measured by his war budget; and the vanity of the English enthusiast would have ruined the most skilful combinations. Incapable of any higher intellectual effort than declamatory exercises, he had matched himself against the keenest and coolest statesman in Europe. He had run a mine, as he believed, under Henry's throne, to blow it to the moon; and at the expected moment of his triumph his shallow schemes were blasted to atoms, and if not himself, yet his nearest kindred and dearest friends were buried in the ruins.

Lord Darcy had said that fifteen lords and great men had been banded together to put down the Reformation. Two peers had died on the scaffold. Lord Abergavenny, the head of the Nevilles, was dead also; he was, perhaps, a third. The knights and commoners who had suffered after the Pilgrimage of Grace had not covered the whole remaining number. The names revealed by the Nun of Kent, though unknown to the world, had not been forgotten by the Government. Cromwell knew where to watch, and how.

The country was still heaving uneasily from the

after-roll of the insurrection, and Pole's expectations of a third commotion, it is likely, were as well known to the privy council as they were known to the Pope. Symptoms had appeared in the western counties strikingly resembling those which had preceded the Yorkshire rising, when Cromwell's innocent order was issued for the keeping of parish registers.[1] Rumours were continually flying that the Emperor would come and overthrow all things; and the busy haste with which the coast was being fortified seemed to sanction the expectation. The Pope had made James of Scotland *Defensor fidei.* Fleets were whispered to be on the seas. Men would wake suddenly and find the Spaniards arrived; and 'harness would again be occupied.'[2] Superstition on one side, and iconoclasm on the other, had dethroned reason, and raised imagination in its place; and

[1] 'There is much secret communication among the King's subjects, and many of them in the shires of Cornwall and Devonshire be in great fear and mistrust what the King's Highness and his council should mean, to give in commandment to the parsons and vicars of every parish, that they should make a book wherein is to be specified the names of as many as be wedded and buried and christened. Their mistrust is, that some charges more than hath been in times past shall grow to them by this occasion of registering.'—Sir Piers Edgecombe to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 612.

[2] 'George Lascelles showed me that a priest, which late was one of the friars at Bristol, informed him that harness would yet be occupied, for he did know more than the King's council. For that at the last council whereat the Emperor, the French King, and the Bishop of Rome met, they made the King of Scots, by their counsel, *Defensor fidei*, and that the Emperor raised a great army, saying it was to invade the great Turk, which the said Emperor meaned by our sovereign lord.' —John Babington to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. iii.

no sagacity at such times could anticipate for an hour the form of the future.[1]

Pole's treason had naturally drawn suspicion on his family. The fact of his correspondence with them from Liège could hardly have been a secret from Cromwell's spies, if the contents of his letters were undiscovered; and the same jealousy extended also, and not without cause, to the Marquis of Exeter. Lord Exeter, as the

[1] I attach specimens from time to time of the 'informations' of which the Record Office contains so many. They serve to keep the temper of the country before the mind. The King had lately fallen from his horse and broken one of his ribs. A farmer of Walden was accused of having wished that he had broken his neck, and 'had said further that he had a bow and two sheaves of arrows, and he would shoot them all before the King's laws should go forward.' An old woman at Aylesham, leaning over a shop window, was heard muttering a chant, that 'there would be no good world till it fell together by the ears, for with clubs and clouted shoon should the deed be done.' Sir Thomas Arundel wrote from Cornwall, that 'a very aged man' had been brought before him with the reputation of a prophet, who had said that 'the priests should rise against the King, and make a field; and the priests should rule the realm three days and three nights, and then the white falcon should come out of the north-west, and kill almost all the priests, and they that should escape should be fain to hide their crowns with the filth of beasts, because they would not be taken for priests.' 'A groom of Sir William Paget's was dressing his master's horse one night in the stable in the White Horse in Cambridge,' when the ostler came in and began 'to enter into communication with him.' 'The ostler said there is no Pope, but a Bishop of Rome. And the groom said he knew well there was a Pope, and the ostler, moreover, and whosoever held of his part, were strong heretics. Then the ostler answered that the King's Grace held of his part; and the groom said that he was one heretic, and the King was another; and said, moreover, that this business had never been if the King had not married Anne Boleyn. And therewith they multiplied words, and waxed so hot, that the one called the other knave, and so fell together by the ears, and the groom broke the ostler's head with a faggot stick.'—Miscellaneous Depositions: *MSS. State Paper Office*, and *Rolls House*.

grandson of Edward IV., stood next to the Tudor family in the line of succession. The Courtenays were petty sovereigns in Devonshire and Cornwall; and the marquis, though with no special intellectual powers, was regarded as a possible competitor for the crown by a large and increasing party. Lady Exeter we have already seen as a visitor at the shrine of the oracle of Canterbury; and both she and her husband were on terms of the closest intimacy with the Poles. The Poles and the Nevilles, again, were drawing as closely together as mutual intermarriages would allow. Lady Salisbury was regarded as the representative at once of the pure Plantagenet blood and of Warwick the Kingmaker.[1] Lord Montague had married a daughter of Lord Abergavenny; and as any party in the State in opposition to the Government was a formidable danger, so a union between Lord Exeter, Lady Salisbury, and the Nevilles was, on all grounds, religious, political, and historical, the most dangerous which could be formed. It was the knowledge of the influence of his family which gave importance to Reginald Pole. It was this which sharpened the eyes of the Government to watch for the first buddings of treason among his connections.

Exeter's conduct had been for some time unsatisfactory. He had withdrawn for an unknown cause from his share in the command of the royal army on the Pilgrimage of Grace. He had gone down into Devonshire, where his duty would have been to raise the

[1] Her blood was thought even purer than Lord Exeter's. A cloud of doubtful illegitimacy darkened all the children of Edward IV.

musters of the county; but, instead of it, he had courted popularity by interrupting the levy of the subsidy.[1] The judges on circuit at the same time complained of the coercion and undue influence which he exercised in the administration of justice, and of the dread with which his power was regarded by juries. No indictment could take effect against the adherents of the Marquis of Exeter; no dependent of the Courtenays was ever cast in a cause.[2]

From this and other causes altercations had arisen between Exeter and Cromwell at the council-board. High words had passed on Lord Darcy's arraignment. The Marquis had been compelled to sit as high steward; and Lord Delaware, in an account of the trial, stated that when the verdict was given of guilty, a promise had been exacted from Cromwell to save Darcy's life, and even to save his property from confiscation.[3] Cromwell may have done his best, and Darcy's death have been the act of the King. With Henry guilt was ever in proportion to rank; he was never known to pardon a convicted traitor of noble blood. But the responsi-

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[1] 'At my lord marquis being in Exeter at the time of the rebellion, he took direction that all commissions for the second subsidy should stay the levy thereof for a time.'— Sir Piers Edgecombe to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. x.

[2] 'The marquis was the man that should help and do them good.' Men said, 'See the experience, how all those do prevail that were towards the marquis. Neither assizes, nisi prius, nor bill of indictment put up against them could take effect; and, of the contrary part, how it prevailed for them.' — Sir Thomas Willoughby to Cromwell: *MS. Cotton. Titus*, B 1, 386.

[3] Depositions relating to Lord Delaware: *Rolls House MS.* first series, 426.

bility was cast by the peers on the privy seal. Once it was even reported that Exeter drew his dagger on the plebeian adventurer, who owed his life to a steel corslet beneath his dress;[1] and that Cromwell on that occasion ordered the marquis to the Tower. If the story was true, more prudent counsels prevailed, or possibly there would have been an attempt at rescue in the streets.[2] The relations between them were evidently approaching a point when one or the other would be crushed. Exeter was boldly confident. When Lord Montague's name was first mentioned with suspicion at the council-board (although, as was discovered afterwards, the marquis knew better than any other person the nature of schemes in which he was himself implicated so deeply), he stood forward in his friend's defence, and offered to be bound for him, body for body.[3] This was a fresh symptom of his disposition. His conduct, if watched closely, might betray some deeper secrets. About the same time a story reached the Government from Cornwall, to which their recent experience in Lincolnshire and the north justified them in attaching the gravest importance.

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[1] Depositions taken before Sir Henry Capel: *Rolls House MS.* first series, 1286.

[2] 'A man named Howett, one of Exeter's dependents, was heard to say, if the lord marquis had been put to the Tower, at the commandment of the lord privy seal, he should have been fetched out again, though the lord privy seal had said nay to it, and the best in the realm besides; and he the said Howett and his company were fully agreed to have had him out before they had come away.'—*MS.* ibid.

[3] Deposition of Geoffrey Pole: *Rolls House MS.*

April. The parish of St Kevern had already earned a reputation for turbulence. Here had been born and lived the famous blacksmith Michael Flammock, who forty-five years before had led the Cornish men to Blackheath; and the inhabitants were still true to their character—a wild, bold race, fit instruments for any enterprise of recklessness. A painter from the neighbourhood came one day to Sir William Godolphin, and told him that he had been desired by one of these St Kevern men to 'make a banner for the said parish, in the which banner they would have, first, the picture of Christ, with his wounds, and a banner in his hand; our Lady on the one side, holding her breasts in her hand, St John the Baptist on the other; the King's Grace and the Queen[1] kneeling, and all the commonalty kneeling, with scrowls above their heads, making petitions to Christ that they might have their holydays.' The painter said he had asked what they intended to do with such a banner. The man gave him an incoherent account of certain people whom he had seen at Southampton, when he had been up selling fish there, and who had asked him why the Cornish men had not risen when the north rose; and now, he said, they had promised to rise, and were sworn upon the book. They wanted the banner to carry round among the neighbouring parishes, and to raise the people in

[1] Jane Seymour was dead, and the King was not remarried; I am unable to explain the introduction of the words, unless (as was perhaps the case) the application to the painter was in the summer of 1537, and he delayed his information till the following year.

Christ's name.[1] Godolphin would not create an alarm by making sudden arrests; but he despatched a private courier to London, and meanwhile held himself in readiness to crush any mutinous meetings on the instant of their assemblage: 'If there be stirring among them,' he said, 'by the precious body of God I will rid as many as be about the banner, or else I and a great many will die for it.'[2]

Conspiracies against Henry VIII. met usually with ill luck. Lord Exeter had traitors among his domestic servants, who had repeatedly warned the council that all was not right, and that he was meditating some secret movement.[2] At length particular information was given in, which connected itself with the affair at St Kevern. It was stated distinctly that two Cornish gentlemen named Kendall and Quyntrell had for some time past been secretly employed in engaging men who were to be ready to rise at an hour's warning. When notice should be given they were to assemble in arms, and declare the Marquis of Exeter heir-apparent to the throne. Here was the key to the high promises of Reginald Pole. The Government were on the eve of a fresh Pilgrimage of Grace—a fanatical multitude were about to rise again, with a Plantagenet pretender for a leader.

But Henry would not act without clearer proof against a nobleman of so high blood and influence. Cromwell sent orders to Godolphin to secure the man

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[1] Sir William Godolphin to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xiii.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Wriothesley to Sir Thos. Wyatt: ELLIS, second series vol. ii.

who had ordered the banner.[1] The King despatched two gentlemen of the bedchamber into Cornwall, to make private inquiries, directing them to represent themselves as being merely on a visit to their friends, and to use their opportunities to discover the truth.[2]

The result of the investigation was an entire confirmation of the story. For several years, even before the divorce of Queen Catherine, a project was found to have been on foot for a movement in favour of Exeter. The object had sometimes varied. Originally the enterprise of Blackheath was to have been renewed under more favourable auspices; and the ambition of Cornwall and Devonshire was to avenge their defeat by dethroning Henry, and giving a new dynasty to England. They would be contented now to set aside the Prince of Wales, and to declare Exeter the next in succession. But the enlistment was as certain as it was dangerous. 'Great numbers of the King's subjects' were found to have bound themselves to rise for him.[3] We have here,

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[1] Godolphin's Correspondence: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xiii.

[2] Instructions by the King's Highness to John Becket, Gentleman of his Grace's Chamber, and John Wroth, of the same: printed in the *Archæologia*.

[3] 'Kendall and Quyntrell were as arrant traitors as any within the realm, leaning to and favouring the advancement of that traitor Henry, Marquis of Exeter, nor letting nor sparing to speak to a great number of the King's subjects in those parts that the said Henry was heir-apparent, and should be king, and would be king, if the King's Highness proceeded to marry the Lady Anne Boleyn, or else it should cost a thousand men's lives. And for their mischievous intent to take effect, they retained divers and a great number of the King's subjects in those parts, to be to the lord marquis in readiness within an hour's warning.' —Sir Thomas Willoughby to Cromwell: *MS. Cotton. Titus*, B 1.

perhaps, the explanation of these counties remaining quiet during the great insurrection. Exeter himself might have been willing (if the assistance of the Emperor was contemplated he must have been willing) to acknowledge the higher claims of the Princess Mary. But his adherents had possessed themselves of larger hopes, and a separate purpose would have embarrassed their movements. This difficulty existed no longer. Mary could have no claims in preference to Prince Edward; and the fairest hopes of the revolutionists might now be to close the line of the Tudor sovereigns with the life of the reigning King.

October. The meshes were thus cast fairly over Exeter. He was caught, and in Cromwell's power. But one disclosure led to another. At or near about the same time, some information led to the arrest of a secret agent of the Poles; and the attitude and objects of the whole party were drawn fully into light. The St Kevern fisherman had mentioned two men at Southampton who had spoken to him on the subject of the new rebellion. Efforts were made to trace these persons; and although the link is missing, and perhaps never existed, between the inquiry and its apparent consequences, a Southampton 'yeoman' named Holland was arrested on suspicion of carrying letters between Cardinal Pole and his mother and family. There is no proof that papers of consequence were found in Holland's custody; but the Government had the right man in their hands. He was to be taken to London; and, according to the usual mode of conveyance, he was

placed on horseback, with his feet tied under his horse's belly. On the road it so happened that he was met and recognized by Sir Geoffrey Pole, Reginald's younger brother. The worthlessness of conspirators is generally proportioned to their violence. Sir Geoffrey, the most deeply implicated of the whole family, except the cardinal, made haste to secure his own safety by the betrayal of the rest. A few words which he exchanged with Holland sufficed to show him that Cromwell was on the true scent. He judged Holland's cowardice by his own; and 'he bade him keep on his way, for he would not be long after.'[1]

Lord Exeter's chances of escape were not yet wholly gone. His treasons were known up to a certain point, but forgiveness might generally be earned by confession and submission; and Cromwell sent his nephew Richard to him, with an entreaty that 'he would be frank and plain.'[2] But the accused nobleman would make no revelation which would compromise others. His proud blood perhaps revolted against submission to the plebeian minister. Perhaps he did not know the extent to which his proceedings had been already discovered, and still less anticipated the treachery by which he was about to be overwhelmed.

Sir Geoffrey Pole made haste to London; and, preventing the accusations which, in a few days, would have overtaken him, he secured the opportunity which

[1] Deposition of Alice Paytchet: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xxxix.

[2] Examination of Lord Montague and the Marquis of Exeter: *Rolls House MS.* first series, 1262.

had been offered to Exeter of saving himself by confession. He presented himself to the privy council, and informed them that he, with Lord Montague, the Marquis and Marchioness of Exeter, Sir Edward Neville, and other persons whom he named, were in treasonable correspondence with his brother Reginald. They had maintained a steady communication with him from the time of his legation into Flanders. They were watching their opportunities. They had calculated the force which they could raise, the Marquis of Exeter's power in the west forming their especial reliance. The depositions survive only in portions. It does not appear how far the Poles would have supported Exeter's ambition for the crown; they intended, however, this time to avoid Lord Darcy's errors, and not to limit themselves to attacks upon the ministers.[1] The death of Lord Abergavenny had been inopportune;[2] but his brother, Sir Edward Neville, with Lady Salisbury, would supply his place in rallying the Neville powers. The Yorkshire rising had proved how large was the material of an insurrection if adequately managed; and the whole family, doubtless, shared with Reginald, or rather, to them Reginald himself owed the conviction which he urged so repeatedly on the Emperor and the Pope, that, on the first fair opportunity, a power could

[1] 'The Lord Darcy played the fool,' Montague said; 'he went about to pluck the council. He should first have begun with the head. But I beshrew him for leaving off so soon.'—*Baga de Secretis*, pouch xi. bundle 2.

[2] 'I am sorry the Lord Abergavenny is dead; for if he were alive, he were able to make ten thousand men.'—Sayings of Lord Montague: Ibid.

be raised which the Government would be unable to cope with.

If it is remembered that these discoveries occurred when the Bull of Deposition was on the point of publication—when the 'Liber de Unitate' was passing into print—when the pacification of Nice had restored the Continent to the condition most dangerous to England—when the Pope was known to be preparing again a mighty effort to gather against Henry the whole force of Christendom, this was not a time, it will be understood easily, when such plottings would be dealt with leniently, by a weaker hand than that which then ruled the destinies of England.

November. Exeter, Montague, and Neville were sent to the Tower on the 3rd and 4th of November. Lady Exeter followed with her attendant, Constance Beverley, who had been her companion on her secret pilgrimage to the Nun. It is possible that Sir Geoffrey's revelations were made by degrees; for the King was so unwilling to prosecute, that ten days passed before their trial was determined on.[1] Lady Salisbury was not ar-

[1] 'On Monday, the fourth of this month, the Marquis of Exeter and Lord Montague were committed to the Tower of London, being the King's Majesty so grievously touched by them, that albeit that his Grace hath upon his special favour borne towards them passed over many accusations made against the same of late by their own domestics, thinking with his clemency to conquer their cankeredness, yet his Grace was constrained, for avoiding of such malice as was prepensed, both against his person royal and the surety of my Lord Prince, to use the remedy of committing them to ward. The accusations made against them be of great importance, and duly proved by substantial witnesses. And yet the King's Majesty loveth them so well, and of his great goodness is so loath

rested; but Lord Southampton went down to Warblington, her residence in Hampshire, to examine her. She received his questions with a fierce denial of all knowledge of the matters to which they referred, and, for a time, he scarcely knew whether to think her innocent or guilty. 'Surely,' he said, in giving an account of his interview, 'there hath not been seen or heard of a woman so earnest, so manlike in countenance, so fierce as well in gesture as in words; either her sons have not made her privy to the bottom and pit of their stomachs, or she is the most arrant traitress that ever lived.'[1] But her rooms were searched; letters, Papal bulls, and other matters were discovered, which left no doubt of her general tendencies, if they were insufficient to implicate her in actual guilt; and one letter, or copy of a letter, unsigned, but, as Southampton said, undoubtedly hers, and addressed to Lord Montague, was found, the matter of which compromised her more deeply. She was again interrogated, and this time important admissions were extracted from her; but she carried herself with undaunted haughtiness. 'We have dealed with such an one,' the Earl said, 'as men have not dealed with tofore; we may rather call her a strong and constant man than a woman.'[2] No decisive conclusions could be formed against her; but it was thought well that she should remain under surveillance; and three days later

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to proceed against them, that it is doubted what his Highness will do towards them.'—Wriothesley to Sir T. Wyatt: Ellis, second series, vol. ii.

[1] Southampton to Cromwell: Ellis, second series, vol. ii. p. 110.

[2] Ibid. p. 114.

she was removed to Cowdray, a place belonging to Southampton himself, where she was detained in honourable confinement.

The general case meanwhile continued to enlarge. The surviving materials are too fragmentary to clear the whole circumstances; but allusions to witnesses by name whose depositions have not been preserved, show how considerable those materials were. The world at least was satisfied of the guilt of the chief prisoners. 'They would have made as foul a work,' says a letter written from London on the 21st of November, 'as ever was in England.'[1] Henry made up his mind that they should be proceeded against. Treason at home was too palpably connected with conspiracies against England abroad; and the country could not risk a repetition of the Pilgrimage of Grace.

While preparations were made for the trials, the King took the opportunity of issuing a calming circular to the justices of the peace. The clergy, as before, had been the first to catch the infection of disorder: they had been again eager propagators of sedition, and had spread extravagant stories of the intentions of the Government against the Church. Emboldened by the gentleness with which the late insurgents had been handled, 'these miserable and Papistical superstitious wretches,' the King said, 'not caring what danger and mischief our people should incur, have raised the said old rumours, and forged new seditious tales, intending

[1] Robert Warren to Lord Fitzwaters: *MS. Cotton. Titus*, B 1, 143.

as much as in them lyeth a new commotion. Wherefore, for the universal danger to you and to all our good subjects, and trouble that might ensue unless good and earnest provision to repress them be taken thereupon, we desire and pray you that within the precincts of your charges ye shall endeavour yourselves to inquire and find out all such cankered parsons, vicars, and curates as bid the parishioners do as they did in times past, to live as their fathers, and that the old fashions is best. And also with your most effectual vigilance try out such seditious tale tellers, spreaders of brutes, tidings, and rumours, touching us in honour and surety, or [touching] any mutation of the laws and customs of the realm, or any other thing which might cause sedition.'[1]

Dec. 3. And now once more the peers were assembled in Westminster Hall, to try two fresh members of their order, two of the noblest born among them, for high treason; and again the judges sat with them to despatch the lower offenders. On the 2nd and 3rd of December Lord Montague and Lord Exeter were arraigned successively. On the part of the Crown it was set forth generally that 'the King was supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and that his progenitors, from times whereof there was no memory to the contrary, had also been supreme heads of the Church of England; which authority and power of the said King, Paul the Third, Pope of Rome, the public

[1] BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 494, &c.

enemy of the King and kingdom, without any right or title, arrogantly and obstinately challenged and claimed; and that one Reginald Pole, late of London, Esq^{r}, otherwise Reginald Pole, late Dean of Exeter, with certain others of the King's subjects, had personally repaired to the said Pope of Rome, knowing him to be the King's enemy, and adhered to and became liege man of the said Pope, and falsely and unnaturally renounced the King, his natural liege lord; that Reginald Pole accepted the dignity of a cardinal of the Court of Rome without the King's license, in false and treasonable despite and contempt of the King, and had continued to live in parts beyond the seas, and was there vagrant, and denying the King to be upon earth supreme head of the Church of England.

Caring only to bring the prisoners within the letter of the Act, the prosecution made no allusion to Exeter's proceedings in Cornwall. It was enough to identify his guilt with the guilt of the great criminal. Against him, therefore, it was objected—

'That, as a false traitor, machinating the death of the King, and to excite his subjects to rebellion, and seeking to maintain the said Cardinal Pole in his intentions, the Marquis of Exeter did say to Geoffrey Pole the following words in English: 'I like well the proceedings of the Cardinal Pole; but I like not the proceedings of this realm; and I trust to see a change of this world.'

'Furthermore, that the Marquis of Exeter, machinating with Lord Montague the death and destruction of

the King, did openly declare to the Lord Montague, 'I trust once to have a fair day upon those knaves which rule about the King; and I trust to see a merry world one day.'

'And, furthermore persevering in his malicious intention, he did say, 'Knaves rule about the King;' and then stretching his arm, and shaking his clenched fist, spoke the following words: 'I trust to give them a buffet one day.'

Sir Geoffrey Pole was in all cases the witness. The words were proved. It was enough. A verdict of guilty was returned; and the marquis was sentenced to die. Dec. 3.

If the proof of language of no darker complexion was sufficient to secure a condemnation, the charges against Lord Montague left him no shadow of a hope. Montague had expressed freely to his miserable brother his approbation of Reginald's proceedings. He had discussed the chances of the impending struggle and the resources of which they could dispose. He had spoken bitterly of the King; he had expressed a fear that when the world 'came to strypes,' as come it would, 'there would be a lack of honest men,' with other such language, plainly indicative of his disposition. However justly, indeed, we may now accuse the equity which placed men on their trial for treason for impatient expressions, there can be no uncertainty that, in the event of an invasion, or of a rebellion with any promise of success in it, both Montague and Exeter would have

thrown their weight into the rebel scale. Montague, too, was condemned.

The date of the expressions which were sworn against them is curious. They belong, without exception, to the time when Reginald Pole was in Flanders. That there was nothing later was accounted for by the distrust which Geoffrey said that soon after they had begun to entertain towards him. Evidently they had seen his worthlessness; and as their enterprise had become more critical, they had grown more circumspect. But he remembered enough to destroy them, and to save by his baseness his own miserable life.

He was himself tried, though to receive a pardon after conviction. With Sir Edward Neville and four other persons he was placed at the bar on charges of the same kind as those against Exeter and his brother. Neville had said that he 'would have a day upon the knaves that were about the King;' 'that the King was a beast, and worse than a beast;' 'machinating and conspiring to extinguish the love and affection of the King's subjects.' Sir Geoffrey Pole, beyond comparison the most guilty, had been in command of a company under the Duke of Norfolk at Doncaster; and was proved to have avowed an intention of deserting in the action, if an action was fought—real, bad, black treason. Of the others, two had spoken against the supremacy; one had carried letters to the cardinal; another had said to Lord Montague, that 'the King would hang in hell for the plucking down of abbeys.'

The last case was the hardest. Sir Nicholas Carew,

Master of the Horse, had been on the commission which had taken the indictments against Exeter, and had said 'that he marvelled it was so secretly handled; that the like was never seen.' The expression brought him under suspicion. He was found to have been intimate with Exeter; to have received letters from him of traitorous import, which he had concealed and burnt. With the rest he was brought in guilty, and received sentence as a traitor. On the 9th of December the Marquis of Exeter, Montague, and Sir Edward Neville were beheaded on Tower Hill.[1] On the 16th the following proclamation was issued :—

'Be it known unto all men, that whereas Henry Courtenay, late Marquis of Exeter, knight companion of the most noble order of the Garter, hath lately committed and done high treason against the King our dread sovereign lord, sovereign of the said most noble order of the Garter, compassing and imagining the destruction of his most royal person in the most traitorous and rebellious wise, contrary to his oath, duty, and allegiance, intending thereby, if he might have obtained his purpose, to have subverted the whole good order of the commonwealth of England, for the which high and most detest-

[1] Hall, followed by the chroniclers, says that the executions were on the 9th of January; but he was mistaken. In a MS. in the State Paper Office, dated the 16th of December, 1538, Exeter is described as having suffered on the 9th of the same month. My account of these trials is taken from the records in the *Baga de Secretis;* from the Act of Attainder, 31 Henry VIII. cap. 15, not printed in the Statute Book, but extant on the Roll; and from a number of scattered depositions, questions, and examinations in the Rolls House and in the State Paper Office.

able treason the said Henry hath deserved to be degraded of the said most noble order, and expelled out of the same company, and is not worthy that his arms, ensigns, and hatchments should remain amongst the virtuous and approved knights of the said most noble order, nor to have any benefit thereof,—the right wise King and supreme head of the most noble order, with the whole consent and council of the same, wills and commands that his arms, which he nothing deserveth, be taken away and thrown down, and he be clean put from this order, and never from henceforth to be taken of any of the number thereof; so that all others by his example, from henceforth for evermore, may beware how they commit or do the like crime or fault, unto like shame or rebuke.

'God save the King.[1]

'December 16, 1538.'

Executions for high treason bear necessarily a character of cruelty, when the peril which the conspiracies create has passed away. In the sense of our own security we lose the power of understanding the magnitude or even the meaning of the danger. But that there had been no unnecessary alarm, that these noblemen were in no sense victims of tyranny, but had been cut off by a compelled severity, may be seen in the consequence of their deaths. Unjust sentences provoke in-

[1] The degrading of Henry Courtenay, late Marquis of Exeter, the 3rd day of December, and the same day convicted; and the 9th day of the said month beheaded at Tower Hill; and the 16th day of the same month degraded at Windsor: *MS. State Paper Office.* Unarranged bundle.

dignation. Indignation in stormy times finds the means, sooner or later, of shaping itself into punishment. But the undercurrent of disaffection, which for ten years had penetrated through English life, was now exhausted, and gradually ceased to flow. The enemy had been held down; it acknowledged its master; and, with the exception of one unimportant commotion in Yorkshire, no symptom of this particular form of peril was again visible, until the King had received notice of departure in his last illness, and the prospect of his death warmed the hopes of confusion into life again. The prompt extinction of domestic treason, in all likelihood, was the cause which really saved the country from a visit from the Emperor. 'Laud be to God,' said an Englishman, 'we are all now united and knit with a firm love in our hearts towards our prince. Ye never read nor heard that ever England was overcome by outward realms, nor dare any outward prince enterprize to come hither, except they should trust of help within the realm, which I trust in God none such shall ever be found.'[1] The speaker expressed the exact truth; and no one was more keenly aware of it than Charles V.

We must once more go back over our steps. The Emperor being on good terms with France, England, obedient to the necessity of its position, again held out its hand to Germany. No sooner had the pacification of Nice been completed, and Henry had found that he was not, after all, to be admitted as a party contrahent,

[1] Examination of Christopher Chator; *Rolls House MS.* first series.

than, without quarrelling with Charles, he turned his position by immediate advances to the Smalcaldic League. In the summer of 1538 Lutheran divines were invited to England to discuss the terms of their confession with the bishops; and though unsuccessful in the immediate object of finding terms of communion, they did not return, without having established, as it seemed, a generally cordial relationship with the English Reformers. Purgatory, episcopal ordination, the marriage of the clergy, were the comparatively unimportant points of difference. On the vital doctrine of the real presence the Lutherans were as jealously sensitive as the vast majority of the English; and on the points on which they continued orthodox the Reformers, German and English, united in a bigotry almost equal to that of Rome. On the departure of the theological embassy, the Landgrave of Hesse took the opportunity of addressing a letter of warning to Henry on the progress of heresy in England, and expressing his anxiety that the King should not forget the duty of repressing and extirpating so dangerous a disorder.[1]

[1] Gibbon professes himself especially scandalized at the persecution of Servetus by men who themselves had stood in so deep need of toleration. The scandal is scarcely reasonable, for neither Calvin nor any other Reformer of the sixteenth century desired a 'liberty of conscience' in its modern sense. The Council of Geneva, the General Assembly at Edinburgh, the Smalcaldic League, the English Parliament, and the Spanish Inquisition held the same opinions on the wickedness of heresy; they differed only in the definition of the crime. The English and Scotch Protestants have been taunted with persecution. When nations can grow to maturity in a single generation, when the child can rise from his first grammar lesson a matured philosopher, individual men may clear themselves by a single effort from mistakes which

His advice found Cranmer and Cromwell as anxious as himself. The Catholics at home and abroad persisted

are embedded in the heart of their age. Let us listen to the Landgrave of Hesse. He will teach us that Henry VIII. was no exceptional persecutor.

The Landgrave has heard that the errors of the Anabaptists are increasing in England. He depicts in warning colours the insurrection at Münster: 'If they grow to any multitude,' he says, 'their acts will surely declare their seditious minds and opinions. Surely this is true, the devil, which is an homicide, carrieth men that are entangled in false opinions to unlawful slaughters and the breach of society. . . . . There are no rulers in Germany,' he continues, 'whether they be Popish or professors of the doctrines of the Gospel, that do suffer these men, if they come into their hands. All men punish them grievously. We use a just moderation, which God requireth of all good rulers. Whereas any of the sect is apprehended, we call together divers learned men and good preachers, and command them, the errors being confuted by the Word of God, to teach them rightlier, to heal them that be sick, to deliver them that were bound; and by this way many that are astray are come home again. These are not punished with any corporal pains, but are driven openly to forsake their errours. If any do stubbornly defend the ungodly and wicked errours of that sect, yielding nothing to such as can and do teach them truly, these are kept a good space in prison, and sometimes sore punished there; yet in such sort are they handled, that death is long deferred for hope of amendment; and, as long as any hope is, favour is showed to life. If there be no hope left, then the obstinate are put to death.' Warning Henry of the snares of the devil, who labours continually to discredit the truth by grafting upon it heresy, he concludes:—

'Wherefore, if that sect hath done any hurt there in your Grace's realm, we doubt not but your princely wisdom will so temper the matter, that both dangers be avoided, errours be kept down, and yet a difference had between those that are good men, and mislike the abuses of the Bishop of Rome's baggages, and those that be Anabaptists. In many parts of Germany where the Gospel is not preached, cruelty is exercised upon both sorts without discretion. The magistrates which obey the Bishop of Rome (whereas severity is to be used against the Anabaptists) slay good men utterly alien from their opinions. But your Majesty will put a difference great enough between these two sorts, and serve Christ's glory on the one side, and save the innocent blood on the other.' — Landgrave of Hesse to

Sept. 25. more and more loudly in identifying a separation from Rome with heresy. The presence of these very Germans had given opportunity, however absurdly, for scandal; and, taken in connection with the destruction of the shrines, was made a pretext for charging the King with a leaning towards doctrines with which he was most anxious to disavow a connection.[1] The political clouds which were gathering abroad, added equally to the anxiety, both of the King and his ministers, to stand clear in this matter; and as Cromwell had recommended, after the Pilgrimage of Grace, that the Articles of Unity should be enforced against some offender or offenders in a signal manner—so, to give force to his principles, which had been faintly acted upon, either he, or the party to which he belonged, now chose out for prosecution a conspicuous member of the Christian brotherhood, John Lambert, who was marked with the dreadful reputation of a sacramentary. Dr Barnes volunteered as the accuser. Barnes, it will be remembered, had been himself imprisoned for heresy, and had done penance in St Paul's. He was a noisy, vain man, Lutheran in his views, and notorious for his hatred of more advanced Protestants. Tyndal had warned the brethren against him several years pre-

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Henry VIII., September 25, 1538: *State Papers*, vol. viii.

[1] 'They have made a wondrous matter and report here of the shrines and of burning of the idol at Canterbury; and, besides that, the King's Highness and council be become sacramentarians by reason of this embassy which the King of Saxony sent late into England.'—Theobald to Cromwell, from Padua, October 22, 1538: Ellis, third series, vol. iii.

viously; but his German sympathies had recommended him to the vicegerent; he had been employed on foreign missions, and was for the time undergoing the temptation of a brief prosperity. Lambert, the intended victim, had been a friend at Cambridge of Bilney the martyr; a companion at Antwerp of Tyndal and Frith; and had perhaps taken a share in the translation of the Bible. Subsequently, he had been in trouble for suspicion of heresy; he had been under examination before Warham, and afterwards Sir Thomas More; and having been left in prison by the latter, he had been set at liberty by Cranmer. He was now arrested on the charge preferred by Dr Barnes, of having denied the real presence, contrary to the Articles of Faith. He was tried in the Archbishop's court; and, being condemned, he appealed to the King.

Henry decided that he would hear the cause in person. A few years before, a sacramentary was despatched with the same swift indifference as an ordinary felon: a few years later, a sacramentary had ceased to be a criminal. In the interval, the proportions of the crime had so dilated in apparent magnitude, that a trial for it was a national event—an affair of vast public moment.

On the 16th of November, while London was ringing with the arrest of the Marquis of Exeter, the court was opened in Westminster Hall. In the grey twilight of the late dawn, the whole peerage of England, lay and spiritual, took their seats, to the right and left of the throne. The twelve judges placed

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themselves on raised benches at the back. The prisoner was brought in; and soon after the King entered, 'clothed all in white,' with the yeomen of the guard.

The Bishop of Carlisle rose first to open the case. The King, he said, had put down the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome, but it was not to be thought, therefore, that he intended to give license to heresy. They were not met, at present, to discuss doctrines, but to try a person accused of a crime, by the laws of the Church and of the country.

Lambert was then ordered to stand forward.

'What is your name?' the King asked. 'My name is Nicholson,' he said, 'though I be called Lambert.' 'What!' the King said, 'have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, though you were my brother.'

The persecutions of the bishops, Lambert answered, had obliged him to disguise himself; but now God had inspired the King's mind, enduing him with wisdom and understanding to stay their cruelty.

'I come not here,' said Henry, 'to hear mine own praises painted out in my presence. Go to the matter without more circumstance. Answer as touching the sacrament of the altar, is it the body of Christ or no?'

'I answer with St Augustine,' the prisoner said; 'it is the body of Christ after a certain manner.'

'Answer me not out of St Augustine,' said the King; 'tell me plainly whether it be He.'

'Then I say it is not,' was the answer.

'Mark well,' the King replied, 'you are condemned

by Christ's own words—'*Hoc est corpus meum.*'' He turned to Cranmer, and told him to convince the prisoner of his error.

The argument began in the morning. First Cranmer, and after him nine other bishops, laboured out their learned reasons—reasons which, for fifteen hundred years, had satisfied the whole Christian world, yet had suddenly ceased to be of cogency. The torches were lighted before the last prelate had ceased to speak. Then once more the King asked Lambert for his opinion. 'After all these labours taken with you, are you yet satisfied?' he said. 'Choose, will you live or will you die!'

'I submit myself to the will of your Majesty,' Lambert said.

'Commit your soul to God,' replied Henry, 'not to me.'

'I commit my soul to God,' he said, 'and my body to your clemency.'

'Then you must die,' the King said. 'I will be no patron of heretics.'

It was over. The appeal was rejected. Cromwell read the sentence. Four days' interval was allowed before the execution. In a country which was governed by law, not by the special will of a despot, the supreme magistrate was neither able, nor desired, so long as a law remained unrepealed by Parliament, to suspend the action of it.

The morning on which Lambert suffered he was taken to Cromwell's house, where he breakfasted simply

in the hall; and afterwards he died at Smithfield, crying with his last breath, 'None but Christ—none but Christ.'[1] Foxe relates, as a rumour, that Cromwell, before Lambert suffered, begged his forgiveness. A more accurate account of Cromwell's feelings is furnished by himself in a letter written a few days later to Sir Thomas Wyatt:—

Nov. 28. 'The sixteenth of this present month, the King's Majesty, for the reverence of the holy sacrament of the altar, did sit openly in his hall, and there presided at the disputation, process, and judgment of a miserable heretic sacramentary, who was burnt the twentieth of the same month. It was a wonder to see how princely, with how excellent gravity, and inestimable majesty, his Majesty exercised the very office of a superior head of his Church of England; how benignly his Grace essayed to convert the miserable man; how strong and manifest reason his Highness alleged against him. I wished the princes of Christendom to have seen it; undoubtedly they should have much marvelled at his Majesty's most high wisdom and judgment, and reputed him none otherwise after the same than in manner the mirrour and light of all other kings and princes in Christendom. The same was done openly, with great solemnity.'[2]

The circumstances which accompanied Pole's mission into Spain, and those which occasioned the catastrophe of the marriage treaties, can now be understood. The

[1] The history of Lambert's trial is taken from FOXE, vol. v.

[2] Cromwell to Wyatt: NOTT'S *Wyatt*, p. 326.

whole secret of the Emperor's intentions it is not easy, perhaps it is not necessary, to comprehend; but, as it was not till late in the spring that the threatening symptoms finally cleared, so it is impossible to doubt that an enterprise against England was seriously meditated, and was relinquished only when the paralysis of the domestic factions who were to have risen in its support could no longer be mistaken.

The official language of the Spanish Court through the winter 'had waxed from colder to coldest.'[1] On Pole's arrival in the Peninsula, Sir Thomas Wyatt, by the King's instructions, protested against his reception. The Emperor, who in 1537 had forbidden his entrance into his dominions when on a similar errand, replied now that, 'if he was his own traitor, he could not refuse him audience, coming as a legate from the Holy Father.' The next step was the arrest of the English ships in Flanders, and the recall of the Spanish ambassador; and meanwhile a mysterious fleet was collected at Antwerp and in other ports, every one asking with what object, and no one being able to answer, unless it were for a descent on Ireland or England.[2] Mendoza's departure

[1] Cromwell to Wriothesley: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 155.

[2] Christopher Mount writes: 'This day (March 5) the Earl William a Furstenburg was at dinner with the Duke of Saxe, which asked of him what news. He answered that there is labour made for truce between the Emperor and the Turk. Then said the Duke, to what purpose should be all these preparations the Emperor maketh? The Earl answered, that other men should care for. Then said the Duke, the bruit is here—it should be against the King of England. Then said the Earl, the King of England shall need to take heed to himself.' —*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 606.

from London was followed immediately after by the withdrawal of M. de Chatillon, the ambassador of France. 'It is in every man's mouth,' reported Wriothesley, 'that we shall have war. It has been told me that the commission that was sent hither for our matters[1] was despatched only to keep us in hopes, and to the intent that we might be taken tardy and without provision.'[2]

Wriothesley's duty required him to learn the meaning of the arrests. The ministers at Brussels affected to say that the Emperor required sailors for his fleet, and, until it had sailed on its mysterious errand, no other vessels could leave the harbours. The ambassador refused to accept a reply so insolent and unsatisfactory; he insisted on an interview with the Regent herself, and pointing to the clause in the commercial treaty between England and Flanders which stipulated, on behalf of the ships of both nations, for free egress and ingress, he required an explanation of the infringement. 'You give us fair words,' he said to her, 'but your deeds being contrary, the King's Majesty my master shall join words and deeds together, and see that all is but finesse. If you had declared open war, by the law of nations merchant ships should have six weeks allowed them to depart;' while peace remained, they might not be detained a day. The Queen Regent, like her council, gave an evasive answer. The Emperor must be served, she said; the fleet would soon

February.

[1] The negotiations for the marriages.

[2] Wriothesley to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 165.

sail, and the ships would be free. She tried to leave him; his anxiety got the better of his courtesy; he placed himself between her and the door, and entreated some better explanation. But he could obtain nothing. She insisted on passing, and he found himself referred back to the council. Here he was informed that she could not act otherwise; she was obeying absolute orders from the Emperor. Wriothesley warned them that the King would not bear it, that he would make reprisals, and 'then should begin a broiling.' It was no matter; they seemed indifferent.

From their manner Wriothesley did not believe that they would begin a war; yet he could feel no security. 'I have heard,' he wrote to Cromwell, 'that the French King, the Bishop of Rome, and the King of Scots be in league to invade us this summer: and how the Emperor will send to their aid certain Spaniards which shall arrive in Scotland; which Spaniards shall, as it were in fury, upon the arrival in Spain of the ships here prepared, enter the same, half against the Emperor's will, with the oath never to return till they shall revenge the matter of the dowager.' 'This,' he added, 'I take for no gospel, howbeit our master is daily slandered and villanously spoken against. It is possible that all shall be well; but in the mean season, I pray to God to put in the King's Majesty's mind rather to spend twenty thousand pounds in vain, to be in perfect readiness, than to wish it had so been done if any malicious person would attempt anything. Weapons biddeth peace: and good preparation maketh men to look or they leap.

The Emperor hath made great provision. It may yet be that he will do somewhat against the Turks; but as many think nay, as otherwise. But he maketh not his preparation in vain. England is made but a morsel among these choppers. They would have the Duke of Orleans a king;[1] and the Duke of Guise, they say, will visit his daughter in Scotland. It is not unlike that somewhat may be attempted; which, nevertheless, may be defeated. God hath taken the King's Majesty into his own tuition.'[2]

March. Each day the news from Flanders became more alarming. The wharves at Antwerp were covered with ammunition and military stores. Contributions had been levied on the clergy, who had been taught to believe that the money was to be spent in the Pope's quarrel against the King of England. On the 24th of March two hundred and seventy sail were reported as ready for sea; and the general belief was that, if no attack were ventured, the preparations to meet it, which Henry was known to have made, would be the sole cause of the hesitation.[3] Information of a

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[1] *I. e.* he was to marry the Princess Mary.

[2] Wriothesley to Cromwell; *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 167.

[3] 'Within these fourteen days, it shall surely break out what they do purpose to do; as of three ways, one—Gueldres, Denmark, or England; notwithstanding, as I think, England is without danger, because they know well that the King's Grace hath prepared to receive them if they come. There be in Holland 270 good ships prepared; but whither they shall go no man can tell. Preparations of all manner of artillery doth daily go through Antwerp.

'All the spirituality here be set for to pay an innumerable sum of money. Notwithstanding, they will be very well content with giving

precisely similar kind was furnished from Spain. The agent of a London house wrote to his master: 'You shall understand that, four days past, we had news how the Bishop of Rome had sent a post to the Emperor, which came in seven days from Rome, and brought letters requiring and desiring his Majesty, jointly with the French King and the King of Scots, to give war against the King our sovereign lord; and all his subjects to be heretics and schismatics, and wherever they could win and take any of our nation by land or sea, to take us for Jews or infidels, and to use our persons as slaves. We have hope that in this the Emperor will not grant the request of his Holiness, being so much against charity, notwithstanding that divers our friends in this country give us secret monition to put good order for the safeguard of our goods; and they think, verily, the Emperor will have war with the King our master this March next, and that the army of men and ships in Flanders shall go against England.'[1]

The thing to be feared, if there was cause for fear, was a sudden treacherous surprise. The point of attack would probably be the open coast of Kent. An army would be landed on the beach somewhere between Sandwich and Dover, and would march on London. Leaving Cromwell to see to the defence of the metropolis, Henry

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the aforesaid money, if all things may be so brought to pass as they hope it shall, and as it is promised them—and that is, that the Pope's quarrel may be avenged upon the King's Grace of England.'—March 14, —— to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xvi.

[1] William Ostrich to the worshipful Richard Ebbes, Merchant in London: *MS. State Paper Office*, first series, vol. ii.

went down in person to examine his new fortresses, and to speak a few words of encouragement to the garrisons. The merchant-ships in the Thames were taken up by the Government and armed. Lord Southampton took command of the fleet at Portsmouth; Lord Russell was sent into the west; Lord Surrey into Norfolk. The beacons were fresh trimmed; the musters through the country were ordered to be in readiness. Sir Ralph Sadler, the King's private secretary, sent from Dover to desire Cromwell to lose no time in setting London in order: 'Use your diligence,' he wrote, 'for his Grace saith that *diligence passe sense;* willing me to write that French proverb unto your Lordship, the rather to quicken you in that behalf. Surely his Majesty mindeth nothing more than, like a courageous prince of valiant heart, to prepare and be in readiness, in all events, to encounter the malice of his enemies; in which part, no doubt, Almighty God will be his helper, and all good subjects will employ themselves to the uttermost, both lives and goods, to serve his Highness truly. . . . All that will the contrary, God send them ill-hap and short life.'[1]

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[1] Sir Ralph Sadler to Cromwell, from Dover, March 16: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xxxvii. Marillac, who came to England as ambassador from France in March, describes to the Constable the preparations to resist invasion:—

'The King, my lord, is in marvellous distrust as well of the King our master, as of the Emperor. He is confident that they intend to declare war against him; and he is therefore taking measures with the utmost haste for the defence of the realm. He foresees that if attacked at all, he will be attacked in force, and he is calling under arms the whole strength of the realm. As I passed through Dover I saw new ramparts and bulwarks on the rocks

The inspection proving satisfactory, Sir Thomas Cheyne was left at Dover Castle, with command of the

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which face the sea. They had all been made since the return of M. de Chastillon, and were well furnished with artillery, large and small. No landing at Dover could be attempted now with a prospect of success.

'In Canterbury, and the other towns upon the road, I found every English subject in arms who was capable of serving. Boys of seventeen or eighteen have been called out, without exemption of place or person. The inhabitants of London are formed into a corps by themselves for the protection of the City. French subjects residing here for trade have not been spared; they too have been required to serve, whether they desire it or no. Some have answered bravely that they would not bear arms against their natural Sovereign. Others, taken unawares, have yielded through timidity.

'On the road I met a body of men. I was told there were six thousand of them, going as a garrison to Sandwich. As I approached the City I saw the King's ships and galleys all armed and ready to sail. A multitude of private vessels were fitting at their side with all speed; and when this flotilla goes to sea, and unites with the five-and-twenty or thirty ships at Portsmouth, the whole force will amount to a hundred and fifty sail.

'Merchants' traffic outward or inward is interdicted. Every vessel is under arrest, and no one is allowed to leave the realm. English subjects abroad have received orders to return, and are most of them by this time at home. Artillery and ammunition pass out incessantly from the Tower, and are despatched to all points on the coast where a landing is likely to be attempted. In short, my lord, they have made such progress that an invading force will not find them unprovided. They are prepared on all sides to the very extent of their ability, and the great lords are at their posts as if the enemy were already at their doors.

'The cause of the excitement, my lord, is a conviction on the part of their King that the Emperor, the Pope, and our master, are in a league to destroy him and his realm. The King told me himself that he knew from the best authority that the Most Christian King was concerting measures with the Emperor to fall upon him. Your secretary, my lord, he said, was waiting in Spain to bring you the Emperor's latest instructions. M. de Chastillon's sudden departure gave a show of reason to the alarm. The Emperor's ambassador demanded his passports directly after, and went away without speaking of a successor; and where before there was little doubt that mischief was meant the uncertainty was then at an end. They

coast from the mouth of the Thames westward. We catch sight through March and April of soldiers gathering and moving. Lookout vessels hung about the Channel, watching the Flanders ports. One morning when the darkness lifted, sixty strange sail were found at anchor in the Downs;[1] and swiftly two thousand men were in arms upon the sandflats towards Deal. Cheyne never took off his clothes for a fortnight. Strong easterly gales were blowing, which would bring the fleet across in a few hours. 'Mr Fletcher of Rye,' in a boat of his own construction, 'which he said had no fellow in England,' beat up in the wind's eye to Dover, 'of his own mind, to serve the King's Majesty.' At daybreak he would be off Gravelines, on the look-out; at noon he would be in the new harbour, with reports to the English commander. Day after day the huge armada lay motionless. At length sure word was brought that an order had been sent out for every captain, horseman,

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looked for nothing but immediate hostilities.

'At this moment there is especial agitation on account of the appearance of sixty sail of Flemings, said to be on their way to Spain for the expedition to Algiers. People here do not believe that Algiers is their real destination. They are vessels of large burden, unsuited to the Levant, and the impression is that they are transports. Fifty or sixty more have been discovered by scouts in the harbours of Zealand, and report says that they have ten thousand men on board them.

'These things have placed the King upon his mettle. He has sent troops northward, for he looks to be invaded over the Scottish Border. But his preparations are defensive merely, not aggressive. He will never choose such a time as the present to meddle with his neighbours of his own will, or to seize and fortify any second Calais on the French coast. As matters stand, his great anxiety is to be on friendly terms with our master, for never was our master's friendship of more importance to him.'

[1] Holinshed, Stow.

and footman to be on board on the last of March.[1] In a few days the truth, whatever it was, would be known. The easterly winds were the chief cause of anxiety. If England was their object, they would come so quickly, Cheyne said, that although watch was kept night and day all along the coast, yet, 'if evil were, the best would be a short warning for any number of men to repulse them at their landing.' However, his information led him to think the venture would not be made.

He was right. A few days later the look-out boats brought the welcome news that the fleet had broken up. Part withdrew to the ports of Zealand, where the stores and cannon were relanded, and the vessels dismasted. Part were seen bearing down Channel before the wind, bound for Spain and the Mediterranean; and Cromwell, who had had an ague fit from anxiety, informed the King on the 19th of April that he had received private letters from Antwerp, telling him that the enterprise had been relinquished from the uncertainty which appeared of success.[2] April 7.

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[1] Letters of Sir Thomas Cheyne to Cromwell, March and April, 1539: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series.

[2] Cromwell to the King: *MS. Cotton. Titus*, B 1, 271. On the 15th of April Marillac wrote:

Marillac to the Constable.

[MS. Bibliot. Impér. Paris.] April 15, 1539.

My Lord,—They are mustering, drilling, and fortifying their exposed frontiers in all directions. They think of nothing else. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with the other great lords, are away in their counties, providing for the public safety. My lord, no invading force could show itself without the whole nation being warned, and every man will be ready to march wherever danger threatens. Most of the ships have already sailed. Those which remain are chiefly the property of private persons, English or foreign; but there are very few of them

Such, in fact, was the truth. The Emperor, longing, and yet fearing to invade, and prepared to make the attempt if he could be satisfied of a promising insurrection in his support, saw in the swift and easy extinction of the Marquis of Exeter's conspiracy an evidence of Henry's strength which Pole's eloquence could not gainsay. He had waited, uncertain perhaps, till time had proved the consequences of the execution; and when he found that the country was in arms, but only to oppose the invaders whom the English legate had promised it would welcome as deliverers, he was too wise to risk an overthrow which would have broken his power in Germany, and insured the enduring enmity of England. The time, he told the Pope, did not serve; and to a second more anxious message he replied that he could not afford to quarrel with Henry till Germany was in better order. The King of France might act as he pleased. He would not interfere with him. For himself, when the German difficulty was once settled, he would then take up arms and avenge the Pope's injuries and his own.[1] Once more Pole had failed. He

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which are not in fighting order. Lord Cromwell has ten thousand men twenty-five miles off; and next Friday, St George's day, will be the review in London. There will be from fifty to sixty thousand men, perhaps, for not a man who can bear arms is excused. The foreigners resident have received orders to provide weapons and to appear in the City livery. Indeed, my lord, they are thoroughly prepared; and on the sea, although they have now but a hundred or a hundred and twenty ships, they say they will shortly have a hundred and fifty. Considering the time they have been at work they have not done badly.

[1] PHILIPS's *Life of Pole.* Four letters of Cardinal Alexander Farnese to Paul III.: *Epist. Reg. Pol.*, vol. ii. p. 281, &c.

has been accused of personal ambition; but the foolish expectations of his admirers in Europe have been perhaps mistaken for his own.[1] His worst crime was his vanity; his worst misfortune was his talent—a talent for discovering specious reasons for choosing the wrong side. The deliberate frenzy of his conduct shows the working of a mind not wholly master of itself; or, if we leave him the responsibility of his crimes, he may be allowed the imperfect pity which attaches to failure. The results of his labours to destroy the Reformation had, so far, been to bring his best friends and Lord Montague to the scaffold. His mother, entangled in his guilt, lay open to the same fate. His younger brother was a perjured traitor and a fratricide. In bitter misery he now shrank into the monastery of Carpentras, where he wrote to Contarini, that, if he might be allowed, he would hide his face for ever in mourning and prayer. Often, he said, he had heard the King of England speak of his mother as the most saintly woman in Christendom. First priests, then nobles, and now, as it seemed, women were to follow. Had the faith of Christ, from the beginning, ever known so deadly an enemy?

[1] One of these, for instance, writes to him: 'Vale amplissime Pole quem si in meis auguriis aliquid veri est adhuc Regem Angliæ videbimus.' His answer may acquit him of vulgar selfishness: 'I know not where you found your augury. If you can divine the future, divine only what I am to suffer for my country, or for the Church of God, which is in my country.

εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

For me, the heavier the load of my affliction for God and the Church, the higher do I mount upon the ladder of felicity.—*Epist. Reg. Pol.*, vol. iii. pp. 37—39.

He went on to bewail the irresolution of Charles:—

'Surely,' he exclaimed, 'if the Emperor had pronounced against the tyrant, this worse antagonist of God than the Turk, he would have found God more favourable to him in the defence of his own empire. I the more dread some judgment upon Cæsar, for that I thought him chosen as a special instrument to do God's work in this matter. God, as we see in the Scriptures, was wont to stir up adversaries against those whom he desired to punish; and when I saw that enemy of all good in his decline into impiety commencing with an attack on Cæsar's honour and Cæsar's family, what could I think but that, as Cæsar's piety was known to all men, so God was in this manner influencing him to avenge the Church's wrongs with his own? Now we must fear for Cæsar himself. Other princes are ready in God's cause. He in whom all our hopes were centered is not ready. I have no consolation, save it be my faith in God and in Providence. To him who alone can save let us offer our prayers, and await his will in patience.'[1]

[1] *Epist. Reg. Pol.*, vol. ii. p. 191, &c. The disappointment of the Roman ecclesiastics led them so far as to anticipate a complete apostasy on the part of Charles. The fears of Cardinal Contarini make the hopes so often expressed by Henry appear less unreasonable, that Charles might eventually imitate the English example. On the 8th of July, 1539, Contarini writes to Pole:—

'De rebus Germaniæ audio quod molestissime tuli, indictum videlicet esse conventum Norimburgensem ad Kal. Octobris pro rebus Ecclesiæ componendis, ubi sunt conventuri oratores Cæsaris et Regis Christianissimi; sex autem pro parte Lutheranorum et totidem pro partibus Catholicorum, de rebus Fidei disputaturi; et hoc fieri ex decreto superiorum mensium Conventûs Francford; in quo nulla mentio fit, nec de Pontifice, nec de aliquo qui pro sede

A gleam of pageantry shoots suddenly across the sky. Pole delighted to picture his countrymen to himself cowering in terror before a cruel tyrant, mourning their ruined faith and murdered nobility. The impression was known to have contributed so largely to the hopes of the Catholics abroad, that the opportunity was taken to display publicly the real disposition of the nation. All England had been under arms in expectation of invasion; before the martial humour died away, the delight of the English in splendid shows was indulged with a military spectacle. On the 8th of May a review was held of the musters of the city of London. May. May 8.

'The King's Grace,' says a contemporary record, 'who never ceased to take pains for the advancement of the commonwealth, was informed by his trusty friends how that the cankered and venomous serpent Paul, Bishop of Rome, and the archtraitor Reginald Pole, had

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Apostolicâ interveniret. Vides credo quo ista tendunt. Utinam ego decipiar; sed hoc prorsus judico; etsi præsentibus omnibus conatibus regis Angliæ maxime sit obstandum, tamen non hunc esse qui maxime sedi Apostolicæ possit nocere; ego illum timeo quem Cato ille in Republicâ Romanâ maxime timebat, qui sobrius accedit ad illam evertendam; vel potius illos timeo (nec enim unus est hoc tempore) et nisi istis privatis conventibus cito obviam eatur, ut non brevi major scissura in Ecclesiâ cum majori detrimento autoritatis sedis Apostolicæ oriatur, quam multis sæculis fuerit visa, non possum non maxime timere. Scripsit ad me his de rebus primus nuncius ex Hispaniâ; et postea certiora de iisdem ex Reverendissimo et Illustrissimo Farnesio cum huc transiret cognovi cui sententiam meam de toto periculo exposui. Ego certe talem nunc video Ecclesiæ statum, ut si unquam dixi ullâ in causâ cum Isaiâ, mitte me, nunc potius si rogarer dicerem cum Mose, Domine, mitte quem missurus es.'—*Epist. Reg. Pol.*, vol. ii. p. 158.

moved and stirred the potentates of Christendom to invade the realm of England with mortal war, and exterminate and destroy the whole nation with fire and sword.'

The King, therefore, in his own person, 'had taken painful and laborious journeys towards the sea coast,' to prevent the invasion of his enemies; he had fortified all the coasts both of England and Wales; he had 'set his navy in readiness at Portsmouth,' 'in all things furnished for the wars.' The people had been called under arms, and the 'harness viewed,' in all counties in the realm; and the Lord Mayor of London was instructed by the Lord Thomas Cromwell that the King's Majesty 'of his most gentle nature' would take the pains to see 'his loving and benevolent subjects muster in order before his Excellent Highness.'

The mayor and his brethren 'determined, after long consultation,' 'that no alien, though he were a denizen, should muster,' but only native-born English; and 'for especial considerations, they thought it not convenient' that all their able-bodied men should be absent from the City at once. They would have but a picked number; 'such as were able persons, and had white harness and white coats, bows, arrows, bills, or poleaxes, and none other except such as bare morris pikes or handguns;' the whole to be 'in white hosen and cleanly shod.'

'And when it was known,' says the record, 'that the King himself would see the muster, to see how gladly every man prepared him, what desire every man had to do his prince service, it was a joyful sight to behold of every Englishman.'

White was the City uniform. The lord mayor and the aldermen rode in white armour, with light coats of black velvet, and the arms of London embroidered on them. Massive gold chains hung on their breasts. Their caps were of velvet with plumes; and steel battle-axes were slung at their side. Every alderman was attended by a body-guard, in white silk, with gilded halberds. The richer citizens were in white silk also, 'with broaches and owches,' and 'breastplates studded with silver.' The remainder had white coats of cotton, worked into a uniform, with the City arms, white shoes, and long woven, closely-fitting hose; 'every man with a sword and dagger,' besides his special arms. The whole number to be reviewed were fifteen thousand men, divided into battles or battalions of five thousand each. The aldermen were at the head each of his ward. The wards were in companies of archers, pikemen, musketeers, and artillery. A preliminary review was held on the evening of the 7th of May. The next morning, before six o'clock, 'all the fields from Whitechapel to Mile-end, from Bethnal-green to Radcliffe and Stepney, were covered with men in bright harness, with glistening weapons.' 'The battle of pikes, when they stood still, seemed a great wood.'

At eight o'clock the advance began to move, each division being attended by a hundred and twenty outriders, to keep stragglers into line. First came thirteen fieldpieces, 'with powder and stones in carts,' followed by the banners of the City, the musketeers, 'five in a rank, every rank five foot from another, and every

shoulder even with his fellows;' and next them the archers, five in a rank also, 'and between every man his bow's length.'

After the archers came 'the pikemen,' and then 'the billmen;' the five companies with their officers on horseback, their colours, and their separate bands.

The other divisions were preceded by an equal number of cannon. At the rear of the second, the banner of St George was carried, and the banner of the Prince of Wales. Behind these, 'at a convenient distance,' the sword-bearer of London, in white damask, 'upon a goodly horse, freshly trapped,' with the sword of the City, 'the scabbard whereof was set full of orient pearl.' Here, too, came the splendid cavalcade of Sir William Foreman, the lord mayor, with himself in person—a blaze of white silk, white satin, gold, crimson, and waving plumes—the choice company of the City; the retinue being composed, for their especial worth and approved valour, of the attorneys, the barristers, their clerks, and the clerks of the courts of law, with white silk over their armour, and chains, and clasps.

The first battalion entered the City at Aldgate, before nine o'clock, and 'so passed through the streets in good order, after a warlike fashion, till they came to Westminster.' Here, in front of the palace, the King was standing on a platform, 'with the nobility.' As the troops passed by, they fired volleys of musketry; the heavy guns were manœuvred, and 'shot off very terribly;' 'and so all three battles, in the order afore rehearsed, one after another, passed through the great

Sanctuary at Westminster, and so about the park at St James's, into a great field before the same place, where the King, standing in his gate-house at Westminster, might both see them that came forward and also them that were passed before. Thence from St James's fields the whole army passed through Holborn, and so into Cheap, and at Leaden Hall severed and departed: and the last alderman came into Cheap about five of the clock; and so from nine of the clock in the forenoon till five at afternoon this muster was not ended.'

'To see how full of lords, ladies, and gentlemen,' continues the authority, 'the windows in every street were, and how the streets of the City were replenished with people, many men would have thought that they that had mustered had rather been strangers than citizens, considering that the streets everywhere were full of people; which was to strangers a great marvel.

'Whatsoever was done, and whatsoever pains was taken, all was to the citizens a great gladness; as to them also which with heart and mind would serve their sovereign lord King Henry the Eighth, whose High Majesty, with his noble infant Prince Edward, they daily pray unto God Almighty long to preserve in health, honour, and prosperity.'[1]

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[1] Account of the muster of the Citizens of London in the thirty-first year of the Reign of King Henry VIII., communicated (for the *Archæologia*), from the Records of the Corporation of London, by Thomas Lott, Esq.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SIX ARTICLES.

THE three centuries which have passed over the world since the Reformation have soothed the theological animosities which they have failed wholly to obliterate. An enlarged experience of one another has taught believers of all sects that their differences need not be pressed into mortal hatred; and we have been led forward unconsciously into a recognition of a broader Christianity than as yet we are able to profess, in the respectful acknowledgment of excellence wherever excellence is found. Where we see piety, continence, courage, self-forgetfulness, there, or not far off, we know is the spirit of the Almighty; and, as we look around us among our living contemporaries, or look back with open eyes into the history of the past, we see—we dare not in voluntary blindness say that we do not see—that God is no respecter of 'denominations,' any more than he is a respecter of persons. His highest gifts are shed abroad with an even hand among the sects of Christendom, and petty distinctions of opinion

melt away and become invisible in the fulness of a larger truth.

Thus, even among the straitest sects whose theories least allow room for latitude, liberty of conscience has found recognition, and has become the law of modern thought. It is as if the ancient Catholic unity, which was divided in the sixteenth century into separate streams of doctrine, as light is divided by the prism, was again imperceptibly returning; as if the coloured rays were once more blending themselves together in a purer and more rich transparency.

In this happy change of disposition, we have a difficulty in comprehending the intensity with which the different religious parties in England, as well as on the Continent, once detested each other. The fact is manifest; but the understanding refuses to realize its causes. We can perceive, indeed, that there may have been a fiery antagonism between Catholics and Reformers; but the animosities which divided Protestant from Protestant, the feeling which led Barnes to prosecute Lambert, or the Landgrave of Hesse to urge Henry VIII. to burn the Anabaptists, is obscure and unintelligible. Nevertheless, the more difficult it may be to imagine the nature of such a feeling, the more essential is it to bear in mind the reality of its existence; and a consequent and corollary upon it of no small importance must also be carefully remembered, that in the descending scale of the movement no sect or party recognized any shadow of division among those who were more advanced than themselves. To the Romanist, schism

and heresy were an equal crime. All who had separated from the Papal communion were alike outcasts, cut off from grace, children of perdition. The Anglican could extend the terms of salvation only to those who submitted to ordinances, to the apostolical succession, and the system of the sacraments; the Lutherans anathematized those who denied the real presence; the followers of Zuinglius and Calvin, judging others as they were themselves judged, disclaimed and murdered such as had difficulties on the nature of the Trinity; the Unitarians gave the same measure to those who rejected the inspiration of Scripture; and with the word 'heretic' went along the full passion of abhorrence which had descended the historical stream of Christianity in connection with the name.

Desiring the reader, then, to keep these points prominently before him, I must now describe briefly the position of the religious parties in England at the existing crisis.

First, there was the party of insurrection, the avowed or secret Romanists, those who denied the royal supremacy, who regarded the Pope as their spiritual sovereign, and retained or abjured their allegiance to their temporal prince as the Pope permitted or ordered. These were traitors in England, the hope of the Catholic powers abroad. When detected and obstinate they were liable to execution; but they were cowed by defeat and by the death of their leaders, and for the present were subsiding towards insignificance.

Secondly, there were the Anglicans, strictly ortho-

dox in the speculative system of the faith, content to separate from Rome, but only that they might bear Italian fruit more profusely and luxuriantly when rooted in their own soil. Of these the avowed leaders were the majority of the bishops and the peers of the old creation, agreeing for the present to make the experiment of independence, but with a secret dislike to change, and a readiness, should occasion require, to return to the central communion. Weak in their reasoning, and selfish in their objects, the Anglicans were of importance only from the support of the conservative English instinct, which then as ever preferred the authority of precedent to any other guide, and defended established opinions and established institutions because they had received them from their fathers, and because their understandings were slow in entertaining new convictions.

To the third or Lutheran party belonged Cranmer, Latimer, Barnes, Shaxton, Crome, Hilsey, Jerome, Barlow, all the Government Reformers of position and authority, adhering to the real presence, and, in a general sense, to the sacraments, but melting them away in the interpretation. The true creed of these men was spiritual, not mechanical. They abhorred idolatry, images, pilgrimages, ceremonies, with a Puritan fervour. They followed Luther in the belief in justification by faith, they rejected masses, they did not receive the sacerdotal system, they doubted purgatory, they desired that the clergy should be allowed to marry, they differed from the Protestants in the single but vital doctrine of transubstantiation. This party after a few

years ceased to exist, developing gradually from the type of Wittenberg to that of Geneva.

Lastly, and still confounded in a common mass of abomination, lay Zuinglians, Anabaptists, sacramentarians, outcasts disowned and cursed by all the rest as a stigma and reproach; those whose hearts were in the matter, who supplied the heat which had melted the crust of habit, and had made the Reformation possible.

For the present the struggle in the State lay between the Anglicans and the Lutherans—the King and Cromwell lying again between them. Cromwell, on the whole orthodox in matters of speculation, cared, nevertheless, little for such matters; his true creed was a hatred of charlatans, and of the system which nursed and gave them power; and his sympathy was gradually bursting the bounds of a tradition which continued to hamper him. The King was constant to his place of mediator; he insisted on the sacraments, yet he abhorred the magical aspect of them. He differed from the Anglicans in his zeal for the dissemination of the Bible, in his detestation of the frauds, impostures, profligacies, idlenesses, ignorances, which had disgraced equally the secular and regular clergy, and in his fixed English resolution never more to tolerate the authority of the Pope. He differed from the Lutherans, and thus more and more from Cromwell, in his dislike of theoretic novelties, in an inability to clear himself from attaching a special character to the priesthood, in an adherence generally to the historical faith, and an anxiety to save himself and the country from the reproach of apostasy. A sharp

line divided the privy council. Cranmer headed the Reformers, supported by the late-created peers, Cromwell, Lord Russell, and for a time Lord Southampton and the chancellor; opposed to these were the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Sir Anthony Brown, Gardiner, Bonner who was now Bishop of London, the Bishops of Durham, Chichester, and Lincoln; and the two parties regarded each other across the board with ever-deepening hatred, with eyes watching for any slip which might betray their antagonists to the powers of the law, and were only prevented by the King's will from flying into open opposition.

In the country, the sympathy of the middle classes was, for the most part, with Henry in preference to either Cranmer or Gardiner, Norfolk or Cromwell. Even in the Pilgrimage of Grace the King had been distinguished from his advisers. A general approbation of the revolt from a foreign usurpation led the body of the nation to support him cordially against the Pope; and therefore, as long as there was danger from Paul or Paul's friends, in England or out of it, Cromwell remained in power as the chief instrument by which the Papal domination had been overthrown. But there was an understanding felt, if not avowed, both by sovereign and subjects, that even loyalty had its limits. If it were true—as the King had ever assured them that it was not true—that Cromwell was not only maintaining English independence and reforming practical abuses, but encouraging the dreaded and hated 'heresy,' then indeed their duties and their conduct might assume another aspect.

And seeing that this 'heresy,' that faith in God and the Bible, as distinguished from faith in Catholicism, was the root and the life of the whole change, that the political and practical revolution was but an *alteration of season*, necessary for the nurture of the divine seed which an invisible hand had sown—seeing that Cromwell himself was opening his eyes to know this important fact, and would follow fearlessly wherever his convictions might lead him, appearances boded ill for the terms on which he might soon be standing with the King, ill for the 'unity and concord' which the King imagined to be possible.

Twice already we have seen Henry pouring oil over the water. The 'Articles of Religion' and the 'Institution of a Christian Man' had contained, perhaps, the highest wisdom on the debated subjects which as yet admitted of being expressed in words. But they had fallen powerless. The decree had gone out, but the war of words had not ceased. The Gospel had brought with it its old credentials. It had divided nation against nation, house against house, child against father. It had brought, 'not peace, but a sword:' the event long before foretold and long before experienced. But Henry could not understand the signs of the times; and once again he appealed to his subjects in language of pathetic reproach.

'The King's Highness to all and singular his loving subjects sends his greeting. His Majesty, desiring nothing more than to plant Christ and his doctrine in all his people's hearts, hath thought good to declare

how much he is offended with all them that wring and wrest his words, driving them to the maintenance of their fantasies, abuses, and naughty opinions; not regarding how his Highness, as a judge indifferent between two parties, whereof the one is too rash and the other too dull, laboureth for agreement. Seeing the breach of small matters to be cause of great dissension, his Highness had charged his subjects to observe such ceremonies and rites as have been heretofore used in his Church, giving therewith commandment to the bishops and curates to instruct the people what ceremonies are, what good they do when not misused, what hurt when taken to be of more efficacy and strength than they are. His Highness, being careful over all his people, is as loath that the dull party should fancy their ceremonies to be the chief points of Christian religion, as he is miscontent with the rash party which hunt down what they list without the consent of his Grace's authority. His Highness wills that the disobedience of them that seek their lusts and liberties shall be repressed, and they to bear the infirmity and weakness of their neighbours until such time as they, enstrengthened, may be able to go in like pace with them, able to draw in one yoke: for St Paul would a decent order in the Church; and, because God is a God of peace and not of dissension, it were meet that all they that would be his should agree on all points, and especially in matters of religion.

'God's will, love, and goodness ought, with all reverence, to be kept in memory; and therefore the old forefathers thought it well done that certain occasions

might be devised to keep them in remembrance, and so invented signs and tokens which, being seen of the eye, might put the heart in mind of his will and promises. For, as the word is a token that warneth us by the ear, so the sacraments ordained by Christ, and ceremonies invented by men, are sensible tokens to warn us by the eye of that self-same will and pleasure that the word doth; and, as the word is but an idle voice without it be understood, so are all ceremonies but beggarly things, dumb and dead, if the meaning of them be not known. They are but means and paths to religion, made to show where Christian people must seek their comfort and where they must establish their belief, and not to be taken as savers or workers of any part of salvation. But his Grace seeth priests much readier to deal holy bread, to sprinkle holy water, than to teach the people what dealing or sprinkling showeth. If the priests would exhort their parishioners, and put them in remembrance of the things that indeed work all our salvation, neither the ceremonies should be dumb nor the people would take that that is the way of their journey, to be the end of their journey. Neither bread nor water nor any indifferent thing can be holy, but it be because it bringeth men to holy thoughts, to godly contemplations, and telleth them where they may and must seek holiness. Ceremonies cannot yet be put down, because the people are evil taught, and would be much offended with the sudden overthrow of them; but, if they be used, their meaning and signification not declared, they are nought else but shadows without a body—shells where there is no kernel

—seals of decision without any writing—witnesses without any covenant, text, or promise. And for this cause the King's Highness commanded that ceremonies should be used, and used without superstition; and now, of late, some have blurted in the people's ears that their ceremonies be come home again, taking them as things in themselves necessary—slandering all such as, in their preaching, have reproved the misuse of them.

'The King's Highness being grounded upon a surer foundation than to waver or revoke any his former injunctions, might worthily punish such wresters of his words and changers of his will and pleasure; but for as much as his Grace is persuaded that clemency oftentimes worketh more than pain can, and seeing many of his loving subjects punished since his last proclamation, not only for evil opinions, but also for words spoken of long time past, his Grace, tendering nothing more than the wealth and comfort of his subjects, doth think it meet rather to heal all diseased, fearful, and hollow hearts, than by dread and fear to keep them still faint friends—faint to God, faint to the truth, faint to his Highness. And, in this consideration, his Highness granteth a general pardon and discharge to all and singular his loving subjects for all and singular causes, matters, suits, preachings, writings, and other things by them or any of them done, had, made, defended, or spoken, touching matters of Christian religion, whereby they might have been brought in danger of the law for suspicion of heresy. And his Highness trusteth that this his gracious pity shall more effectually work the

abolishing of detestable heresies and fond opinions than shall the extreme punishment of the law. For, where fear of hurt should be a cause that they should less love his Highness than their duty bound them to do, now shall this be an occasion, his Grace thinketh, not only to make them tender his Highness's will and pleasure, but also to cause them, of honest love, quite to cast away all foolish, fond, evil, and condemned opinions, and joyfully to return to the elect number of Christ's Church.

'All that is past, as touching this matter, his Highness pardoneth and frankly forgetteth it wholly. But, as his Grace desireth the confusion of error, this way so failing of his purpose and expectation, his Highness will use, albeit much against his will, another way—that, when gentleness cannot work, then to provide what the laws and execution of them can do.'[1]

What persuasion could effect this address would have effected; but kindness and menace were alike unavailing. A seed was growing and to grow, which the King knew not of; and it was to grow, as it were, in the disguise of error, with that abrupt violence which so often, among human beings, makes truth a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence. The young were generally on one side, the old on the other—an inversion of the order of nature when the old are wrong and the young are right.[2] The learned, again, were on the wrong side,

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[1] Royal Proclamation: *Rolls House MS.* A 1, 10.

[2] In 'Lusty Juventus' the Devil is introduced, saying—

'Oh, oh! full well I know the cause

the ignorant were on the right—a false relation, also, fertile in evil. Peasant theologians in the public-houses disputed over their ale on the mysteries of justification, and from words passed soon to blows. The Bibles, which lay open in every parish church, became the text-books of self-instructed fanatics. The voluble orator of the village was chosen by his companions, or, by imagined superior intelligence, appointed himself, to read and expound; and, ever in such cases, the most forward was the most passionate and the least wise. Often, for the special annoyance of old-fashioned church-goers, the time of divine service was chosen for a lecture; and opinions were shouted out in 'loud high voices,' which, in the ears of half the congregation, were damnable heresy.[1] The King's proclamations were but as the words of a man speaking in a tempest—blown to atoms as they are uttered. The bishops were bearded in their own palaces with insolent defiance; Protestant mobs

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That my estimation doth thus decay:
The old people would believe still in my laws,
But the younger sort lead them a contrary way.
They will not believe, they plainly say,
In old traditions made by men;
But they will live as the Scripture teacheth them.'

HAWKINS'S *Old Plays*, vol. i. p. 152.

[1] 'The King intended his loving subjects to use the commodity of the reading of the Bible humbly, meekly, reverently, and obediently; and not that any of them should read the said Bible with high and loud voices in time of the celebration of the mass, and other divine services used in the Church; or that any of his lay subjects should take upon them any common disputation, argument, or exposition of the mysteries therein contained.' — Proclamation of the Use of the Bible: BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 138.

In a speech to the Parliament

would collect to overawe them on their tribunals;[1] and Cromwell was constituted a referee, to whom victims of episcopal persecution rarely appealed without finding protection.[2] Devout communities were scandalized by priests marrying their concubines, or bringing wives whom they had openly chosen to their parsonages. The celibacy of the clergy was generally accepted as a theory; and, though indulgence had been liberally extended to human weakness and frailty, the opinion of the world was less complacent when secret profligacy stepped forward into the open day under the apparent sanction of authority.[3]

Henry spoke also of the abuse of the Bible: 'I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverendly that most precious jewel, the Word of God, is disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every alehouse and tavern. I am even as much sorry that the readers of the same follow it in doing so faintly and coldly.'—HALL, p. 866.

[1] The Bishop of Norwich wrote to Cromwell, informing him that he had preached a sermon upon grace and freewill in his cathedral; 'the next day,' he said, 'one Robert Watson very arrogantly and in great fume came to my lodgings for to reason with me in that matter, affirming himself not a little to be offended with mine assertion of freewill, saying he would set his foot by mine, affirming to the death that there was no such freewill in man. Notwithstanding I had plainly declared it to be of no strength, but only when holpen by the grace of God; by which his ungodly enterprise, perceived and known of many, my estimation and credence concerning the sincere preaching of the truth was like to decay.' The Bishop went on to say that he had set Watson a day to answer for 'his temerarious opinions,' and was obliged to call in a number of the neighbouring county magistrates to enable him to hold his court, 'on account of the great number which then assembled as Watson's fautors.'—The Bishop of Norwich to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, first series, vol. x.

[2] For instance, in Watson's case he seems to have rebuked the Bishop. —Ibid.

[3] Very many complaints of parishioners on this matter remain among the *State Papers*. The difficulty is to determine the proportion of offenders (if they may

The mysteries of the faith were insulted in the celebration of the divine service. At one place, when the priest lifted up the host, a member of the congregation, 'a lawyer' and a gentleman, lifted up a little dog in derision. Another, who desired that the laity should be allowed communion in both kinds, taunted the minister with having drunk all the wine, and with having blessed the people with an empty chalice. The intensity

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be called such) to the body of the spiritualty. The following petition to Cromwell, as coming from the collective incumbents of a diocese, represents most curiously the perplexity of the clergy in the interval between the alteration of the law and the inhibition of their previous indulgences. The date is probably 1536. The petition was in connection with the commission of inquiry into the general morality of the religious orders:—

'May it please your mastership, that when of late we, your poor orators the clergy of the diocese of Bangor, were visited by the King's visitors and yours, in the which visitation many of us (to knowledge the truth to your mastership) be detected of incontinency, as it appeareth by the visitors' books, and not unworthy, wherefore we humbly submit ourselves unto your mastership's mercy, heartily desiring of you remission, or at least wise of merciful punishment and correction, and also to invent after your discreet wisdom some lawful and godly way for us your aforesaid orators, that we may maintain and uphold such poor hospitalities as we have done hitherto, most by provision of such women as we have customably kept in our houses. For in case we be compelled to put away such women, according to the injunctions lately given us by the foresaid visitors, then shall we be fain to give up hospitality, to the utter undoing of such servants and families as we daily keep, and to the great loss and harms of the King's subjects, the poor people which were by us relieved to the uttermost of our powers, and we ourselves shall be driven to seek our living at alehouses and taverns, for mansions upon the benefices and vicarages we have none. And as for gentlemen and substantial honest men, for fear of inconvenience, knowing our frailty and accustomed liberty, they will in no wise board us in their houses.'—Petition of the Clergy of Bangor to the Right Hon. Thomas Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xxxvi.

of the indignation which these and similar outrages created in the body of the nation, may be gathered from a scene which took place when an audacious offender was seized by the law, and suffered at Ipswich. When the fire was lighted, a commissary touched the victim with his wand, and urged him to recant. The man spat at him for an answer, and the commissary exclaimed that forty days' indulgence would be granted by the Bishop of Norwich to every one who would cast a stick into the pile. 'Then Baron Curzon, Sir John Audeley, with many others of estimation, being there present, did rise from their seats, and with their swords cut down boughs and threw them into the fire, and so did all the multitude of the people.'[1] It seems most certain that the country only refrained from taking the law into their own hands, and from trying the question with the Protestants, as Aske and Lord Darcy desired, by open battle, from a confidence that the Government would do their duties, that in some way the law would interfere, and these excesses would be put down with a high hand.

April. The meeting of Parliament could be delayed no longer; and it must be a Parliament composed of other members than those who had sat so long and so effectively.[2] Two years before it had been demanded by the northern counties. The promise had

[1] This story rests on the evidence of eye-witnesses.—FOXE, vol. v. p. 251, &c.

[2] The late Parliament had become a byword among the Catholics and reactionaries. Pole speaks of the 'Conventus malignantium qui omnia illa decreta contra Ecclesiæ unitatem fecit.'—*Epist. Reg. Pol.*, vol. ii. p. 46.

been given, and the expectation of a fresh election had been formed so generally, that the country had widely prepared for it. The counties and towns had been privately canvassed; the intended representation had been arranged. The importance of the crisis, and the resolution of the country gentlemen to make their weight appreciated, was nowhere felt more keenly than in the court.

Letters survive throwing curious light on the history of this election. We see the Cromwell faction straining their own and the Crown's influence as far as it would bear to secure a majority—failing in one place, succeeding in another—sending their agents throughout the country, demanding support, or entreating it, as circumstances allowed; or, when they were able, coercing the voters with a high hand. Care was taken to secure the return of efficient speakers to defend the Government measures;[1] and Cromwell, by his exertions and by his anxiety, enables us to measure the power of the Crown, both within Parliament and without; to conclude with certainty that danger was feared from opposition, and that the control of the cabinet over the representation of England was very limited.

The returns for the boroughs were determined by the chief owners of property within the limits of the franchise: those for the counties depended on the great

[1] 'For your Grace's Parliament I have appointed (for a Crown borough) your Grace's servant, Mr Morison, to be one of them. No doubt he shall be able to answer or take up such as should crack on far with litterature of learning.'—Cromwell to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 603.

landholders. In the late Parliament Cromwell wrote to some gentleman, desiring him to come forward as the Government candidate for Huntingdonshire. He replied that the votes of the county were already promised, and unless his competitors could be induced to resign he could not offer himself.[1] In Shropshire, on the call of Parliament to examine the treasons of Anne Boleyn,[2] there was a division of interest. 'The worshipful of the shire' desired to return a supporter of Cromwell: the sheriff, the under-sheriff, and the town's-people were on the other side. The election was held at Shrewsbury, and the inhabitants assembled riotously, overawed the voters, and carried the opposition member by intimidation. On the present occasion Lord Southampton went in person round Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire, where his own property was situated. The election for Surrey he reported himself able to carry with certainty. At Guildford he manœuvred to secure both seats, but was only able to obtain one. He was anticipated for the other by a Guildford townsman, whom the mayor and burgesses told him that they all desired. Sir William Goring and Sir John Gage were standing on the court interest for Sussex. Sir John Dawtry, of Petworth, and Lord Maltravers, had promised their support, and Southampton hoped that they might be considered safe. Farnham was 'the Bishop of Winchester's town,' where he 'spared to meddle' without Cromwell's express orders.

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[1] Letter to Secretary Cromwell on the Election of the Knights of the Shire for the County of Huntingdon: *Rolls House MS.*

[2] Lady Blount to the King's Secretary: *Rolls House MS.*

If the Bishop's good intentions could be relied upon, interference might provoke gratuitous ill feeling. He had friends in the town, however, and he could make a party if Cromwell thought it necessary. In Portsmouth and Southampton the Government influence was naturally paramount, through the dockyards, and the establishments maintained in them.[1] So far nothing can be detected more irregular than might have been found in the efforts of any prime minister before the Reform Bill to secure a manageable House of Commons. More extensive interference was, however, indisputably practised, wherever interference was possible; at Oxford, we find Cromwell positively dictating the choice of a member, while at Canterbury, at the previous election, a case had occurred too remarkable for its arbitrary character to be passed over without particular mention. Directions had been sent down from London for the election of two Government nominees. An answer was returned, stating humbly that the order had come too late—that two members of the corporation of Canterbury were already returned. I have failed to discover Cromwell's rejoinder; but a week later the following letter was addressed to him by the mayor and burgesses:—

'In humble wise we certify you that the 20th day of this present month, at six o'clock in the morning, I, John Alcock, mayor of Canterbury, received your letter directed to me, the said mayor, sheriff, and commonalty of the said city, signifying to us thereby the King's

[1] The Earl of Southampton to Cromwell: *MS. Cotton. Cleopatra*, E 4.

pleasure and commandment, that Robert Sacknell and John Bridges[1] should be burgesses of the Parliament for the same city of Canterbury; by virtue whereof, according to our bounden duty, immediately upon the sight of your said letter and contents thereof perceived, we caused the commonalty of the said city to assemble in the court hall, where appeared the number of four score and seventeen persons, citizens and inhabitants of the said city; and according to the King's pleasure and commandment, freely with one voice, and without any contradiction, have elected and chosen the said Robert Sacknell and John Bridges to be burgesses of the Parliament for the same city, which shall be duly certified by indenture under the seal of the said citizens and inhabitants by the grace of the blessed Trinity.'

The first election, therefore, had been set aside by the absolute will of the Crown, and the hope that so violent a proceeding might be explained tolerably through some kind of decent resignation is set aside by a further letter, stating that one of the persons originally chosen, having presumed to affirm that he was 'a true and proper burgess of the city,' he had been threatened into submission by a prospect of the loss of a lucrative office which he held under the corporation.[2]

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[1] The two persons whom Cromwell had previously named.

[2] Letters of the Mayor of Canterbury to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. v.

In my first edition this affair is referred to the election of 1539. We are left often to internal evidence to fix the dates of letters, and finding the second of those written by the Mayor of Canterbury, on this subject, addressed to Cromwell as lord privy seal, I supposed that it must refer to the only election

For the Parliament now elected, it is plain that the Privy Seal put out his utmost strength; and that he believed beforehand that his measures had been so well laid as to ensure the results which he desired. 'I and your dedicate councillors,' he wrote to the King, 'be about to bring all things so to pass that your Grace had never more tractable Parliament.'[1] The event was to prove that he had deceived himself; a reaction set in too strong for his control, and the spirit which had dictated the Doncaster petition, though subdued and modified, could still outweigh the despotism of the minister or the intrigues of his agents.

The returns were completed; the members assembled in London, and with them as usual the Convocation of the clergy. As an evidence of the greatness of the occasion, the two provinces were united into one; the Convocation of York held its session with the Convocation of Canterbury; a synod of the whole English Church met together, in virtue of its recovered or freshly constituted powers, to determine the articles of its belief.[2]

conducted by him after he was raised to that dignity. I have since ascertained that the first letter, the cover of which I did not see, is addressed to Sir Thomas Cromwell, chief secretary, &c. It bears the date of the 20th of May, and though the year is not given, the difference of the two styles fixes it to 1536. The election was conducted while Cromwell was a commoner. He was made a peer and privy seal immediately on the meeting of Parliament on the 2nd of July.

[1] Cromwell to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 693.

[2] 'The King's Highness desiring that such a unity might be established in all things touching the doctrine of Christ's religion, as the same so being established might be to the honour of Almighty God, and consequently redound to the commonwealth of this his Highness's most noble realm, hath therefore caused his most High Court of Parliament to be at this time summoned, and also a synod and Convocation of all

April 28. The opening was conducted by the King in person, on Monday, the 28th of April. The clerk of the House of Lords has recorded (either as if it was exceptional or as if the circumstances of the time gave to a usual proceeding an unusual meaning) the religious service with which the ceremony was accompanied, and the special prayers which were offered for the divine guidance.[1] The first week passed in unexplained inactivity. On the Monday following the lord chancellor read the speech from the throne, declaring the object for which Parliament had been called. The King desired, if possible, to close the religious quarrels by which the kingdom was distracted. With opinions in so furious conflict, the mode of settlement would demand anxious consideration; his Majesty therefore proposed, if the lords saw no objection, that, preparatory to the general debate, a committee of the Upper House should compose a report upon the causes and character of the disagreement. The committee should represent both parties. The peers selected were Cromwell, the two Archbishops, the Bishops of Bath, Ely, Bangor, Worcester, Durham, and Carlisle.[2] It was foreseen that a body, of which Cranmer and Latimer, Lee and Tunstall, were severally members, was un-

May 5.

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the archbishops, bishops, and other learned men of the clergy of this his realm to be in like manner assembled.'—31 Henry VIII. cap. 14.

[1] 'Post missarum solemnia, decenter ac devote celebrata, divinoque auxilio humillimi implorato et invocato.'—*Lords Journals*, 31 Henry VIII.

[2] *Lords' Journals*, 31 Henry VIII.

likely to work in harmony. The committee proceeded, however, to their labours; and up to this time even the privy council seem to have been ignorant of the course which events would follow. On some points the King had either formed no intention till he had ascertained the disposition of the House of Commons, or else he had kept his intentions carefully to himself. A paper of suggestions, representing the views of the moderate Reformers, was submitted to him by some one in high authority; and the tone in which they were couched implied a belief in the writer that his advice would be favourably received. It was to the effect that a table of heresies should be drawn out; that the judgment of the bench of bishops and the ecclesiastical lawyers should be taken upon it; that it should then be printed, and copies sent to every justice of the peace, to be read aloud at every assizes, court leet, or sessions, and in the charges delivered to the grand juries. A court might be constituted composed of six masters of chancery, mixed of priests and laymen, to whom all accusations would be referred; and the composite character of the tribunal would be a security against exaggeration or fanaticism. Meanwhile a bill should be prepared to be laid before Parliament, relieving the clergy finally from the obligations of celibacy, legalizing the marriages which any among them had hitherto contracted, and for the future permitting them all 'to have wives and work for their living.' 'A little book,' in addition, should be compiled and printed, proving 'that the prayers of men that be here living for the souls of them that be dead

could in no wise be profitable to them that were dead, and could not help them.'[1]

It is hard to believe that the King's resolution was fixed, or even that his personal feelings were known to be decided against the marriage of the clergy, when a person evidently high in office could thus openly recommend to him the permission of it, and the reforming preachers at the Court had spoken freely to the same effect before him in their sermons.[2] For the present, however, this matter with the rest waited the determination of the committee of religion, who had remained ten days over their labours, and so far had arrived at no conclusions. In the interval the history of the northern rebellion was laid before the Houses, with an account of the late conspiracy of the Marquis of Exeter and Lord Montague. Bills of attainder were presented against many of those who had suffered, and in the preambles their offences were stated, though with little detail. The omission in all but two instances is not important, for the Act of Parliament could have contained only what was proved upon the trials, and the substance of the accusations is tolerably well known. A more explicit statement might have been desired and expected when a parliamentary attainder was the beginning and end of the process. The Marchioness of Exeter and the

[1] A Device for extirpating Heresies among the People: *Rolls House MS.*

[2] 'Nothing has yet been settled respecting the marriage of the clergy, although some persons have very freely preached before the King upon the subject.'—John Butler to Conrad Pellican, March 8, 1539: *Original Letters on the Reformation*, second series, p. 624.

Countess of Salisbury were not tried, but they were attainted in common with the rest; and it can be gathered only from the language of the Act that circumstances were known to the Parliament of which the traces are lost.[1]

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[1] Lady Exeter was afterwards pardoned. Lady Salisbury's offences, whatever they were, seem to have been known to the world, even before Lord Southampton's visit of inspection to Warblington. The magistrates of Stockton in Sussex sent up an account of examinations taken on the 13th of September, 1538, in which a woman is charged with having said, 'If so be that my Lady of Salisbury had been a young woman as she was an old woman, the King's Grace and his council had burnt her.' —*MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xxxix. The Act of Attainder has not been printed (31 Henry VIII. cap. 15: *Rolls House MS.*); so much of it, therefore, as relates to these ladies is here inserted:—

'And where also Gertrude Courtenay, wife of the Lord Marquis of Exeter, hath traitorously, falsely, and maliciously confederated herself to and with the abominable traitor Nicholas Carew, knowing him to be a traitor and a common enemy to his Highness and the realm of England; and hath not only aided and abetted the said Nicholas Carew in his abominable treasons, but also hath herself committed and perpetrated divers and sundry detestable and abominable treasons to the fearful peril of his Highness's royal person, and the loss and desolation of this realm of England, if God of His goodness had not in due time brought the same treason to knowledge:

'And where also Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, and Hugh Vaughan, late of Bekener, in the county of Monmouth, yeoman, by instigation of the devil, putting apart the dread of Almighty God, their duty of allegiance, and the excellent benefits received of his Highness, have not only traitorously confederated themselves with the false and abominable traitors Henry Pole, Lord Montague, and Reginald Pole, sons to the said countess, knowing them to be false traitors, but also have maliciously aided, abetted, maintained, and comforted them in their said false and abominable treason, to the most fearful peril of his Highness, the commonwealth of this realm, &c., the said marchioness and the said countess be declared attainted, and shall suffer the pains and penalties of high treason.' I find no account of Vaughan, or of the countess's connection with him. He was probably one of the persons employed to carry letters to and from the cardinal.

Lady Salisbury, after her sentence, was removed from Cowdray to the Tower. A remarkable scene took place in the House of Lords on the last reading of the Act of Attainder. As soon as it was passed, Cromwell rose in his place, and displayed, in profound silence, a tunic of white silk, which had been discovered by Lord Southampton concealed amidst the countess's linen. On the front were embroidered the royal arms of England. Behind was the badge of the five wounds, which had been worn by the northern insurgents.[1] Cromwell knew what he was doing in the exhibition. It was shown, and it was doubtless understood, as conclusive evidence of the disposition of the daughter of the Duke of Clarence and the mother of Reginald Pole. The bill was disposed of rapidly. It was introduced on the 10th of May; some faint voices were raised in opposition, but to no purpose; it was concluded on the 12th. The chief interest of both Houses was fastened on the great question before the committee.

May 16. The time passed on. No report was presented, and the peers grew impatient. On the 16th the Duke of Norfolk stated that, so far as he could perceive, no progress was being made in the proper business of the session, and, judging from a conversation which had passed when the committee of opinion was

[1] 'Immediate post Billæ lectionem Dominus Cromwell palam ostendit quandam tunicam ex albo serico confectam inventam inter lintcamina Comitissæ Sarum, in cujus parte anteriore existebant sola arma Angliæ; in parte vero posteriore insignia illa quibus nuper rebelles in aquilonari parte Angliæ in commotione suâ utebantur.' — *Lords Journals*, 31 Henry VIII.

nominated, little progress was likely to be made in a body so composed. He therefore moved that the whole Parliament be invited to discuss freely the six ensuing articles. 1. In the eucharist after consecration does there, or does there not, remain any substance of bread and wine? 2. Is communion in both kinds necessary or permitted to the laity? 3. Are vows of chastity deliberately made of perpetual obligation? 4. Is there or is there not any efficacy in private masses to benefit the souls of the dead? 5. Are priests permitted to have wives? 6. Shall auricular confession be retained or be not retained in the Church? The Duke's own opinion on each and every of these points was well known; but the question was not only of the particular opinion of this or that person, but whether difference of opinion was any longer to be permitted; whether after discussion such positive conclusions could be obtained as might be enforced by a penal statute on all English subjects.

On the first no disagreement was anticipated. No member of either House, it is likely, and no member of Convocation—not even Latimer—had as yet consciously denied the real presence; but the five remaining articles on which an issue was challenged were the special points on which the Lutheran party were most anxiously interested—the points on which, in the preceding summer, negotiations with the Germans were broken off, and on which Cranmer was now most desirous to claim a liberty for the Church, as the basis of an evangelical league in Christendom. Norfolk, therefore, had opened the battle,

and it was waged immediately in full fury in both Houses of Parliament—in both Houses of Convocation. There were conferences and counter-conferences. Cromwell, perhaps knowing that direct opposition was useless, was inclined to accept in words resolutions which he had determined to neutralize; Cranmer, more frank, if less sagacious, spoke fearlessly for three days in opposition; and the King himself took part in the debate, and argued with the rest. The settlement was long protracted. There were prorogations for further consideration, and intervals of other business, when Acts were passed which at any other moment would have seemed of immeasurable importance. The Romans, in periods of emergency, suspended their liberties and created a dictator. The English Parliament, frightened at the confusion of the country, and the peril of interests which they valued even more than liberty, extended the powers of the Crown. The preamble of the eighth of the thirty-first of Henry VIII.[1] states that—

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[1] In quoting the preambles of Acts of Parliament I do not attach to them any peculiar or exceptional authority. But they are contemporary statements of facts and intentions carefully drawn, containing an explanation of the conduct of Parliament and of the principal events of the time. The explanation may be false, but it is at least possible that it may be true; and my own conclusion is that, on the whole, the account to be gathered from this source is truer than any other at which we are likely to arrive; that the story of the Reformation as read by the light of the statute book is more intelligible and consistent than any other version of it, doing less violence to known principles of human nature, and bringing the conduct of the principal actors within the compass of reason and probability. I have to say, further, that the more carefully the enormous mass of contemporary evidence of another kind is studied, documents, private and public letters, proclama-

'Forasmuch as the King's most Royal Majesty, for divers considerations, by the advice of his council, hath heretofore set forth divers and sundry proclamations, as well concerning sundry articles of Christ's religion, as for an unity and concord among the loving and obedient subjects of his realm, which, nevertheless, divers and many froward and obstinate persons have contemned and broken, not considering what a king by his royal power may do, for lack of a direct statute, to cause offenders to obey the said proclamations, which, being suffered, should not only encourage offenders to disobedience, but also seem too much to the dishonour of the King's Majesty, who may full ill bear it, and also give too great heart to malefactors and offenders; considering also that sudden causes and occasions fortune many times, do require speedy remedies, and that by abiding for a Parliament in the mean time might happen great prejudice to the realm; and weighing also *that his Majesty, which, by the kingly power given him by God, may do many things in such cases, should not be driven to extend the liberty and supremacy of his regal power and dignity by the wilfulness of froward subjects, it is thought in manner more than necessary* that the King's Highness of this realm for the time being, with the advice of his honourable council, should make and set forth proclamations for the good and politic order of this his realm, as cases of necessity shall require, and that an ordinary law should be provided, by the assent of his Majesty and Parliament, for

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tions, council records, State trials, and other authorities, the more they will be found to yield to these preambles a steady support.

the due punishment, correction, and reformation of such offences and disobediences.[1]

For these reasons the extraordinary privilege was conferred upon the Crown of being able, with the consent of the privy council, to issue proclamations which should have the authority of Acts of Parliament; and pains and penalties might be inflicted to enforce submission, provided the specific punishment to follow disobedience was described and defined in each proclamation. A slight limitation was imposed upon this dangerous prerogative. The Crown was not permitted to repeal or suspend existing statutes, or set aside the common law or other laudable custom. It might not punish with death, or with unlimited fines or imprisonments. Secondary penalties might be inflicted, on legitimate conviction in the Star Chamber; but they must have been previously defined, both in extent and character. These restrictions interfered with the more arbitrary forms of tyranny; yet the ordinary constitution had received a serious infringement, in order that it might not be infringed further by a compelled usurpation. A measure something larger than the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—the most extreme violation of the liberty of the subject to which, in the happier condition of England, we can now be driven, a measure infinitely lighter than the 'declaration of a state of siege,' so familiar to the most modern experience of the rest of Europe, was not considered too heavy a sacrifice of free-

[1] 31 Henry VIII. cap. 8.

dom, in comparison with the evils which it might prevent.[1]

While the Six Articles Bill was still under debate, the King at once availed himself of the powers conferred upon him, again to address the people. He spoke of the secret and subtle attempts which certain people were making to restore the hypocrite's religion—the evil and naughty superstitions and dreams which had been abolished and done away; while others, again, he said, were flying in the face of all order and authority, perverting the Scriptures, denying the sacraments, denying the authority of princes and magistrates, and making law and government impossible.[2] He dwelt especially on his disappointment at the bad use which had been made of the Bible: 'His Majesty's intent and hope had been, that the Scriptures would be read with meekness,

[1] The limitation which ought to have been made was in the time for which these unusual powers should be continued; the bill, however, was repealed duly in connection with the treason Acts and the other irregular measures in this reign, as soon as the crisis had passed away, or when those who were at the head of the State could no longer be trusted with dangerous weapons.—See 1 Edward VI. cap. 7. The temporary character of most of Henry's acts was felt, if it was not avowed. Sir Thomas Wyatt, in an address to the privy council, admitted to having said of the Act of Supremacy, 'that it was a goodly Act, the King's Majesty being so virtuous, so wise, so learned, and so good a prince; but if it should fall unto an evil prince it were a sore rod:' and he added, 'I suppose I have not mis-said in that; for all powers, namely absolute, are sore rods when they fall into evil men's hands.' — Oration to the Council: NOTT'S *Wyatt*, p. 304.

[2] The same expressions had been used of the Lollards a hundred and fifty years before. The description applied absolutely to the Anabaptists; and Oliver Cromwell had the same disposition to contend against among the Independents. The least irregular of the Protestant sects were tainted more or less with anarchical opinions.

with a will to accomplish the effect of them; not for the purpose of finding arguments to maintain extravagant opinions—not that they should be spouted out and declaimed upon at undue times and places, and after such fashions as were not convenient to be suffered.'[1] So far, it seemed as if the fruit which had been produced by this great and precious gift had been only quarrelling and railing, 'to the confusion of those that used the same, and to the disturbance, and in likelihood to the destruction, of all the rest of the King's subjects.'

Such shameful practices he was determined should be brought to an end. His 'daily study' was to teach his people to live together, not in rioting and disputing, but in unity, in charity, and love. He had therefore called his Parliament, prelates, and clergy to his help, with a full resolution to 'extinct diversities of opinion by good and just laws;' and he now gave them his last solemn warning, if they would escape painful consequences, 'to study to live peaceably together, as good and Christian men ought to do.'

The great measure was now in motion; but its advance was still slow, and under the shadow of the absorbing interest which it created, two other statutes passed, without trace of debate or resistance; one of which was itself the closing scene of a mighty destruction; the other (had circumstances permitted the accomplishment of the design) would have constructed a fabric out of the ruins, the incompleteness of which, in

[1] A considerable part of this address is in Henry's own handwriting.—See STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 434.

these later days, the English Church is now languidly labouring to repair.

The thirteenth of the thirty-first of Henry VIII. confirmed the surrender of all the religious houses which had dissolved themselves since the passing of the previous Act, and empowered the King to extend the provisions of that Act, at his pleasure, to all such as remained standing. Monastic life in England was at an end, and for ever. A phase of human existence which had flourished in this island for ten centuries had passed out and could not be revived. The effort for the reform of the orders had totally failed; the sentiment of the nation had ceased to be interested in their maintenance, and the determined spirit of treason which the best and the worst conducted of the regular clergy had alike exhibited in the late rebellion, had given the finishing impulse to the resolution of the Government. The more sincerely 'religion' was professed, the more incurable was the attachment to the Papacy. The monks were its champions while a hope remained of its restoration. In the final severance from Rome the root of their life was divided; and the body of the nation, orthodox and unorthodox alike, desired to see their vast revenues applied to purposes of national utility. They were given over by Parliament, therefore, to the King's hands. The sacrifice to the old families, the representatives of the ancient founders, was not only in feeling and associations, but in many instances was substantial and tangible. They had reserved to themselves annual rents, services, and reliefs; they had influence in the

choice of superiors; the retainers of the abbeys followed their standard, and swelled their importance and their power.[1] All this was at an end; and although in some instances they repurchased, on easy terms, the estates which their forefathers had granted away, yet in general the confiscated lands fell in smaller proportions to the old-established nobility than we should have been prepared to expect. The new owners of these broad domains were, for the most part, either the rising statesmen—the *novi homines* who had been nursed under Wolsey, and grown to manhood in the storms of the Reformation, Cromwell, Russell, Audeley, Wriothesley, Dudley, Seymour, Fitzwilliam, and the satellites who revolved about them; or else city merchants, successful wool-dealers, or manufacturers: in all cases the men of progress—the men of the future—the rivals, if not the active enemies, of the hereditary feudal magnates.

To such persons ultimately fell by far the largest portion of the abbey lands. It was not, however, so intended. Another Act, which Henry drew with his own hand,[2] stated that, inasmuch as the slothful and ungodly life of all sorts of persons, bearing the name of religious, was notorious to all the world, ... in order that both they and their estates might be turned to some better account, that the people might be better educated, charity be better exercised, and the spiritual discipline of the country be in all respects better maintained, it was expedient that the King should have

[1] See FULLER, vol. iii. p. 411.
[2] 31 Henry VIII. cap. 9.

powers granted to him to create by letters patent, and endow, fresh bishoprics as he should think fit, and convert religious houses into chapters of deans and prebendaries, to be attached to each of the new sees, and to improve and strengthen those already in existence. The scheme, as at first conceived, was on a magnificent scale. Twenty-one new bishoprics were intended, with as many cathedrals and as many chapters; and in each of the latter (unless there had been gross cause to make an exception) the monks of the abbey or priory suppressed would continue on the new foundation, changing little but the name.[1] Henry's intentions, could they have been executed, would have materially softened the dissolution. The twenty-one bishoprics, however, sunk into six;[2] and eight religious houses only were submitted to the process of conversion.[3] The cost of the national defences, followed by three years of ruinous war, crippled at its outset a generous project, and saved the Church from the possession of wealth and power too dangerously great.

On the 23rd of May Parliament was prorogued for a week; on the 30th the lord chancellor informed the peers that his Majesty, with the assistance of the bench of bishops, had come to a conclusion on the Six Articles; which, it was assumed— May 30.

[1] In some instances, if not in all, this was actually the case.—See the Correspondence between Cromwell and the Prior of Christ Church at Canterbury: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series.

[2] Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Gloucester, Chester, and Westminster.

[3] Canterbury, Winchester, Ely, Norwich, Worcester, Rochester, Durham, and Carlisle.

from the course possibly which the many debates had taken—would be acceptable to the two Houses. A penal statute would be required to enforce the resolutions; and it was for their lordships to determine the character and the extent of the punishment which would be necessary. To give room for differences of opinion, two committees were this time appointed—the first consisting of Cranmer, the Bishops of Ely and St David's, and Sir William Petre; the other of the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham and Winchester, and Dr Tregonwell.[1] The separate reports were drawn and presented; the peers accepted the second. The cruel character of the resolutions was attributed, by sound authority, to the especial influence of Gardiner.[2] It was not, in its extreme form, the work of the King, nor did it express his own desires. His

[1] 'Per Dominum cancellarium declaratum est quod cum non solum proceres spirituales verum etiam regia majestas ad unionem in precedentibus articulis conficiendam multipliciter studuerunt et laboraverunt ita ut nunc unio in eisdem confecto sit regia igitur voluntatis esse ut penale aliquod statutum efficeretur ad coercendum suos subditos, ne contra determinationem in eisdem articulis confectam contradicerent, aut dissentirent, verum ejus majestatem proceribus formam hujusmodi malefactorum hujusmodi committere. Itaque ex eorum communi consensu concordatum est quod Archiepiscopus Cant., Episcopus Elien., Episcopus Menevensis et Doctor Peter, unam formam cujusdam actus, concernentem Punitionem hujusmodi malefactorum dictarent et componerent similiterque quod Archiepisc. Ebor., Episc. Dunelm., Episc. Winton et Doctor Tregonwell alteram ejusmodi effectus dictitarent et componerent formam.'—*Lords Journals*, 31 Henry VIII.

[2] Foxe's rhetoric might be suspected, but a letter of Melancthon to Henry VIII. is a more trustworthy evidence: 'Oh, cursed bishops!' he exclaims; 'oh, wicked Winchester!' — Melancthon to Henry VIII.: printed in Foxe, vol. v.

opinions on the disputed articles were wholly those contained in the body of the Act. He had argued laboriously in their maintenance,[1] and he had himself drawn a sketch for a statute not unlike that which passed into law; but he had added two clauses, from which the bishops contrived to deliver themselves, which, if insisted upon, would have crippled the prosecutions and tied the hands of the Church officials. According to Henry's scheme, the judges would have been bound to deliver in writing to the party accused a copy of the accusation, with the names and depositions of the witnesses; and, if there was but one witness, let his reputation have stood as high as that of any man in the State, it would have been held insufficient for a conviction.[2]

[1] On the 9th of June Marillac writes to Francis:—'The bishops have had a grand struggle. Part desired to maintain the mass complete, part to make a new service. The majority were with the conservatives, who have carried the day. The King, as the leader of this party, said all which ought to have been said. He maintained that the Holy Sacrament ought to be believed and adored, and to be honoured with the ceremonies observed in the Church from immemorial time. Evil speaking, therefore, against the sacrament is prohibited under pain of death; and priests, to the great displeasure of the ambassador of Saxe, are forbidden to marry—so angry was he that he went off two days since in the worst imaginable humour.'

[2] 'The judge shall be bounden, if it be demanded of him, to deliver in writing to the party called before him, the copy of the matter objected, and the names and depositions of the witnesses . . . . and in such case, as the party called answereth and denyeth that that is objected, and that no proof can be brought against him but the deposition of one witness only, then and in that case, be that witness never of so great honesty and credit, the same party so called shall be without longer delay absolved and discharged by the judge's sentence freely without further cost or molestation.'—The Six Articles Bill as drawn by the King: WILKINS's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 848.

The slight effort of leniency was not approved by the House of Lords. In spite of Cranmer's unwearied and brave opposition, the harshest penalties which were recommended received the greatest favour; and 'the bloody Act of the Six Articles,' or 'the whip with six strings,' as it was termed by the Protestants, was the adopted remedy to heal the diseases of England.

June. After a careful preamble, in which the danger of divisions and false opinions, the peril both to the peace of the commonwealth and the souls of those who were ensnared by heresy, were elaborately dwelt upon, the King, the two Houses of Parliament, and the Convocations of the two provinces declared themselves, after a great and long, deliberate and advised disputation, to have adopted the following conclusions:[1]—

1. That, in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word, it being spoken by the priest, was present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of Jesus Christ; and that, after consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine, nor any other but the substance of Christ.

2. That communion in both kinds was not essential to salvation; that, under the form of bread, the blood was present as well as the body; and, under the form of wine, the flesh was present as well as the blood.

3. That it was not permitted to priests, after their ordination, to marry and have wives.

[1] Act for Abolishing Diversity of Opinions: 31 Henry VIII. cap. 14.

4. That vows of chastity made to God advisedly, by man or woman, ought to be observed, and were of perpetual obligation.

5. That private masses ought to be continued, as meet and necessary for godly consolation and benefit.

6. That auricular confession to a priest must be retained, and continue to be used in the Church.

The Lords and Commons, in accepting the articles, gave especial thanks to his Majesty for the godly pain, study, and travail with which he had laboured to establish them; and they 'prayed God that he might long reign to bring his godly enterprise to a full end and perfection;' and that by these means 'quiet, unity, and concord might be had in the whole body of the realm for ever.'

On their side they enacted against such persons as should refuse to submit to the resolutions:—

That whoever, by word or writing, denied the first article, should be declared a heretic, and suffer death by burning, without opportunity of abjuration, without protection from sanctuary or benefit of clergy. Whoever spoke or otherwise broke the other five articles, or any one of them, should, for the first offence, forfeit his property; if he offended a second time, or refused to abjure when called to answer, he should suffer death as a felon. All marriages hitherto contracted by priests were declared void. A day was fixed before which their wives were to be sent to their friends, and to retain them after that day was felony. To refuse to go to confession was felony. To refuse to receive the sacrament was felony. On every road on which the free mind of man was

moving, the dark sentinel of orthodoxy was stationed with its flaming sword; and in a little time all cowards, all who had adopted the new opinions with motives less pure than that deep zeal and love which alone entitle human beings to constitute themselves champions of God, flinched into their proper nothingness, and left the battle to the brave and the good.

The feelings with which the bill was received by the world may be gathered most readily from two letters—one written by an English nobleman, who may be taken to have represented the sentiments of the upper classes in this country; the other written by Philip Melancthon, speaking in the name of Germany and of English Protestantism struggling to be born.

The signature and the address of the first are lost; but the contents indicate the writer's rank.[1]

'For news here, I assure you, never prince showed himself so wise a man, so well learned, and so catholic, as the King hath done in this Parliament. With my pen I cannot express his marvellous goodness, which is come to such effect that we shall have an Act of Parliament so spiritual that I think none shall dare to say that in the blessed sacrament of the altar doth remain either bread or wine after the consecration; nor that a priest may have a wife; nor that it is necessary to receive our Maker *sub utrâque specie;* nor that private masses should not be used as they have been; nor that it is not necessary to have auricular

[1] Printed in STRYPE's *Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 743.

confession. And notwithstanding my Lord Canterbury, my Lord of Ely, my Lord of Salisbury, my Lords of Worcester, Rochester, and St David's defended the contrary long time, yet, finally, his Highness confounded them all with God's learning. York, Durham, Winchester, London, Chichester, Norwich, and Carlisle have showed themselves honest and well-learned men. *We of the temporalty have been all of one opinion;* and my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Privy Seal as good as we can desire. My Lord of Canterbury and all the bishops have given over their opinions and come in to us, save Salisbury, who yet continueth a lewd fool. Finally, all England hath cause to thank God, and most heartily to rejoice, of the King's most godly proceedings.'

There spoke the conservative Englishman, tenacious of old opinions, believing much in established order, and little in the minds and hearts of living human beings—believing that all variation from established creeds could only arise from vanity and licentiousness, and from the discontent of an ill-regulated understanding.

We turn to Melancthon, and we hear the protest of humanity, the pleading of intellect against institutions, the voice of freedom as opposed to the voice of order—the two spirits 'between whose endless jar justice resides.'

He reminded the King of the scene described by Thucydides, where the Athenians awoke to their injustice and revoked the decree against Mytilene, and he implored him to reconsider his fatal determination. He was grieved, he said, for those who professed the same

doctrines as himself; but he was more grieved for the King, who allowed himself to be the minister of tyranny. For them nothing could happen more glorious than to lose their lives in bearing witness to the truth; but it was dreadful that a prince, who could not plead the excuse of ignorance, should stain his hands with innocent blood. The bishops pretended that they were defending truth; but it was the truth of sophistry, not of God. In England, and through Europe, the defenders of truth were piecing old garments with new cloth, straining to reconcile truth with error, and light with darkness. He was not surprised. It was easy to understand with the reason how such things were; but his feelings recoiled, and pleaded passionately against their hard and cruel hearts. 'If that barbarous decree be not repealed,' he said, 'the bishops will never cease to rage against the Church of Christ without mercy and without pity; for them the devil useth as instruments and ministers of his fury and malice against Christ—he stirreth them up to kill and destroy the members of Christ. And you, O King! all the godly beseech most humbly that you will not prefer such wicked and cruel oppressions and subtle sophistries before their own just and honest prayers. God recompense you to your great reward if you shall grant those prayers. Christ is going about hungry and thirsty, naked and imprisoned, complaining of the rage and malice of the bishops, and the cruelty of kings and princes. He prays, He supplicates, that the members of His body be not rent in pieces, but that truth may be defended, and the Gospel preached

among men; a godly king will hear His words, and obey the voice of His entreaty.'[1]

The extremes of opinion were thus visible on either side. Between them the Government steered their arduous way, under such guidance as conscience and necessity could furnish. To pass a statute was one thing: to enforce the provisions of it was another. The peers and bishops expected to be indulged forthwith in the pleasures of a hot persecution. The King's first act was to teach them to moderate their ardour. In order to soothe the acrimonies which the debate had kindled, the lords spiritual and temporal were requested to repair to Lambeth to 'animate and comfort the archbishop,' and to bury the recollection of all differences by partaking of his hospitality. The history of their visit was, perhaps, diluted through Protestant tradition before it reached the pages of Foxe, and the substance only of the story can be relied upon as true. It is said, however, that on this occasion a conversation arose which displayed broadly the undercurrent of hatred between Cromwell and the peers. One of the July.

[1] Philip Melancthon to Henry VIII.: FOXE, vol. v. The nation generally were on the side of the King. 'The King's declaration about the sacrament has given wide pleasure and satisfaction,' says Marillac. 'The people in general are inclined to the old religion, and only a few bishops support the new opinions. These bishops are in a bad humour. They wanted leave for the clergy to take wives, and they cannot get it. They desired to make Church preferment hereditary, and to convert the benefices into family estates. The gentlemen of Germany did their best to forward the business of priests' marriages, and they are sadly disturbed at their failure.'—Marillac to the Constable, June 9, 1539: *MS. Bibliot. Impér. Paris.*

party spoke of Wolsey, whom he called 'a stubborn and churlish prelate, and one that never could abide any nobleman;' 'and that,' he added, 'you know well enough, my Lord Cromwell, for he was your master.' Cromwell answered that it was true that he had been Wolsey's servant, nor did he regret his fortune. 'Yet was I never so far in love with him,' he said, 'as to have waited upon him to Rome, which you, my lord, were, I believe, prepared to have done.' It was not true, the first speaker said. Cromwell again insisted that it was true, and even mentioned the number of florins which were to have been paid him for his services. The other said 'he lied in his teeth, and great and high words rose between them.'[1]

The King's peace-making prospered little. The impetus of a great victory was not to be arrested by mild persuasions. A commission was appointed by the Catholic leaders to reap the desired fruits. Such of the London citizens as had most distinguished themselves as opponents of reformation in all its forms—those especially who had resisted the introduction of the Bible—formed a court, which held its sittings in the Mercers' Chapel. They 'developed the statute' in what were termed 'branches of inference;' they interpreted 'speaking against masses' to comprehend 'coming seldom to mass.' Those who were slow in holding up their hands 'at sacring time,' or who did not strike their breasts with adequate fervour, were held to have denied the

[1] FOXE, vol. v. p. 265.

sacrament. In the worst temper of the Inquisition they revived the crippled functions of the spiritual courts: they began to inquire again into private conduct—who went seldom to church—who refused to receive holy bread or holy water—who were frequent readers of the Bible, 'with a great many other such branches.'[1] 'They so sped with their branches' that in a fortnight they had indicted five hundred persons in London alone. In their imprudent fanaticism they forgot all necessary discretion. There was not a man of note or reputation in the City who had so much as spoken a word against Rome, but was under suspicion, or under actual arrest. Latimer and Shaxton were imprisoned, and driven to resign their bishoprics.[2] Where witnesses were not to be found, Hall tells us significantly, 'that certain of the clergy would procure some, or else they were slandered.' The fury which had been pent up for years, revenge for lost powers and privileges, for humiliations and sufferings, remorse of conscience reproaching them for their perjury in abjuring the Pope, whom they still reverenced, and to whose feet they longed to return, poured out from the reactionary churchmen in a concentrated lava stream of malignity.

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[1] HALL'S *Chronicle*, p. 828. Hall is a good evidence on this point. He was then a middle-aged man, resident in London, with clear eyes and a shrewd, clear head, and was relating not what others told him, but what he actually saw.

[2] In Latimer's case, against Henry's will, or without his knowledge. Cromwell, either himself deceived or desiring to smooth the storm, told Latimer that the King advised his resignation; 'which his Majesty afterwards denied, and pitied his condition.'—*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 849.

The blindness of their rage defeated their object. The King had not desired articles of peace that worthless bigots might blacken the skies of England with the smoke of martyr-fires. The powers given to the Crown by the Act of Proclamations recoiled on those who bestowed them, and by a summary declaration of pardon the bishops' dungeon doors were thrown open; the prisoners were dismissed;[1] and though Cromwell had seemed to yield to them in the House of Lords, their victims, they discovered, would not be permitted to be sacrificed so long as Cromwell was in power.

Not contented with granting an indemnity, Henry set the persecutors an example of the spirit in which to enforce the Six Articles. Next to Barnes and Latimer, the most obnoxious of all the reforming clergy, in high orthodox quarters, was Jerome, Vicar of Stepney. While the Parliament was in session this person preached in violent denunciation of their proceedings. He denied their authority to make laws to bind the conscience.[2] He had used 'opprobrious words' against the members of the House of Commons, calling them 'butterflies, fools, and knaves;' and when the Act of Opinions was passed, he was seized by the committee at the Mercers'. We need not ask how he would have been dealt with there; but Henry took the cause out of their hands. He sent for the preacher, and as Jerome reported afterwards, 'so indifferently heard him, so gently used him, so mercifully forgave him, that there was never poor man

[1] Hall.

[2] Notes of Erroneous Doctrines preached at Paul's Cross by the Vicar of Stepney: *MS. Rolls House.*

received like gentleness at any prince's hand.' The preacher consented to revoke his words in the place where he had used them; and appearing again in the same pulpit, he confessed that he had spoken wrongly. The King had shown him that to restrain the power of the Government within the limits which he desired, would create confusion in the commonwealth, and that his declamation against the burgesses had been ill and slanderously spoken. He recanted, also, other parts of his sermon on questions of doctrine; but he added an explanation of his submission characteristic of the man and of the time. 'He was perplexed,' he said, 'but not confounded;' 'he was compelled to deny himself; but to deny himself was no more but when adversity should come, as loss of goods, infamies, and like trouble, to deny his own will, and call upon the Lord, saying, *Fiat voluntas tua.*'[1] Catholics and Protestants combined to render the King's task of ruling them as arduous as it could be made.

The bill, nevertheless, though it might be softened in the execution, was a hard blow on the Reformation, and was bitterly taken. Good came at last out of the evil. The excesses of the moving party required absolutely to be checked; nor could this necessary result be obtained till the bishops for a time had their way uncontrolled; but the dismissal of Latimer from the bench, the loss of the one man in England whose conduct was, perhaps, absolutely straightforward, up-

[1] Henry Dowes to Cromwell: Ellis, third series, vol. iii. p. 258.

right, and untainted with alloy of baser matter, was altogether irreparable.

We approach another subject of scarcely less importance than this famous statute, and scarcely less stern. Before we enter upon it we may pause for a moment over one of the few scenes of a softer kind which remain among the records of this iron age. It is but a single picture. Richard Cromwell, writing from the Court of some unimportant business which the King had transacted, closes his letter with adding: 'This done, his Grace went to the prince, and there hath solaced all the day with much mirth and with dallying with him in his arms a long space, and so holding him in a window to the sight and great comfort of all the people.'[1] A saying is recorded of Henry: 'Happy those who never saw a king, and whom a king never saw.' It is something, though it be but for once, to be admitted behind the shows of royalty, and to know that he, too, the queller of the Pope, the terror of conspirators, the dread lord who was the pilot of England in the sharpest convulsion which as yet had tried her substance, was nevertheless a man like the rest of us, with a human heart and human tenderness.

But to go on with our story.

The English criminal law was in its letter one of the most severe in Europe: in execution it was the most uncertain and irregular. There were no colonies to draw off the criminals, no galley system, as in

[1] Richard Cromwell to Lord Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. vii. p. 188.

France and Spain, to absorb them in penal servitude; the country would have laughed to scorn the proposal that it should tax itself to maintain able-bodied men in unemployed imprisonment; and, in the absence of graduated punishments, there was but one step to the gallows from the lash and the branding-iron. But, as ever happens, the extreme character of the penalties for crime prevented the enforcement of them; and benefit of clergy on the one hand, and privilege of sanctuary on the other, reduced to a fraction the already small number of offenders whom juries could be found to convict. In earlier ages the terrors of the Church supplied the place of secular retribution, and excommunication was scarcely looked upon as preferable even to death. But in the corrupt period which preceded the Reformation the consequences were the worst that can be conceived. Spasmodic intervals of extraordinary severity, when twenty thieves, as Sir Thomas More says, might be seen hanging on a single gibbet, were followed by periods when justice was, perhaps, scarcely executed at all.[2]

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[1] More's *Utopia*, Burnet's translation, p. 13.

[2] Respectable authorities, as most of my readers are doubtless aware, inform us that seventy-two thousand criminals were executed in England in the reign of Henry VIII. Historians who are accustomed to examine their materials critically, have usually learnt that no statements must be received with so much caution as those which relate to numbers. Grotius gives, in a parallel instance, the number of heretics executed under Charles V. in the Netherlands as a hundred thousand. The Prince of Orange gives them as fifty thousand. The authorities are admirable, though sufficiently inconsistent, while the judicious Mr Prescott declares both estimates alike immeasurably beyond

The State endeavoured to maintain its authority against the immunities of the Church by increasing the

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the truth. The entire number of victims destroyed by Alva in the same provinces by the stake, by the gallows, and by wholesale massacre, amount, when counted carefully in detail, to twenty thousand only. The persecutions under Charles, in a serious form, were confined to the closing years of his reign. Can we believe that wholesale butcheries were passed by comparatively unnoticed by any one at the time of their perpetration, more than doubling the atrocities which startled subsequently the whole world? Laxity of assertion in matters of number is so habitual as to have lost the character of falsehood. Men not remarkably inaccurate will speak of thousands, and, when cross-questioned, will rapidly reduce them to hundreds, while a single cipher inserted by a printer's mistake becomes at once a tenfold exaggeration. Popular impressions on the character of the reign of Henry VIII. have, however, prevented inquiry into any statement which reflects discredit upon this; the enormity of an accusation has passed for an evidence of its truth. Notwithstanding that until the few last years of the King's life no felon who could read was within the grasp of the law, notwithstanding that sanctuaries ceased finally to protect murderers six years only before his death, and that felons of a lighter cast might use their shelter to the last,—even these considerable facts have created no misgiving, and learned and ignorant historians alike have repeated the story of the 72,000 with equal confidence.

I must be permitted to mention the evidence, the single evidence, on which it rests.

The first English witness is Harrison, the author of the *Description of Britain* prefixed to HOLLINSHED'S *Chronicle*. Harrison, speaking of the manner in which thieves had multiplied in England from laxity of discipline, looks back with a sigh to the golden days of King Hal, and adds, 'It appeareth by Cardan, who writeth it upon report of the Bishop of Lisieux, in the geniture of King Edward the Sixth, that his father, executing his laws very severely against great thieves, petty thieves, and rogues, did hang up three-score and twelve thousand of them.'

Referring to the *Commentaries* of Jerome Cardan, p. 412, I find a calculation of the horoscope of Edward VI., containing, of course, the marvellous legend of his birth, and after it this passage:—

'Having spoken of the son, we will add also the scheme of his father, wherein we chiefly observe three points. He married six wives; he divorced two; he put two to death. Venus being in conjunction

harshness of the code. So long as these immunities subsisted, it had no other resource; but judges and magistrates shrank from inflicting penalties so enormously disproportioned to the offence. They could not easily send a poacher or a vagrant to the gallows while a notorious murderer was lounging in comfort in a neighbouring sanctuary, or having just read a sentence from a book at the bar in arrest of judgment, had been handed over to an apparitor of the nearest archdeacon's court, and been set at liberty for a few shillings. I have met with many instances of convictions for deer stealing in the correspondence of the reign of Henry VIII.; I have met but one instance where the letter of the law was enforced against the offender, unless the minor crime had been accompanied with manslaughter or armed resistance—the leaders of a gang who had

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with Cauda, Lampas partook of the nature of Mars; Luna in occiduo cardine was among the dependencies of Mars; and Mars himself was in the ill-starred constellation Virgo and in the quadrant of Jupiter Infelix. Moreover, he quarrelled with the Pope, owing to the position of Venus and to influences emanating from her. He was affected also by a constellation with schismatic properties, and by certain eclipses, and hence, and from other causes, arose a fact related to me by the Bishop of Lisieux, namely, that two years before his death as many as seventy thousand persons were found to have perished by the hand of the executioner in that one island during his reign.'

The words of some unknown foreign ecclesiastic discovered imbedded in the midst of this abominable nonsense, and transmitted through a brain capable of conceiving and throwing it into form, have been considered authority sufficient to cast a stigma over one of the most remarkable periods in English history, while the contemporary English Records, the actual reports of the judges on assize, which would have disposed effectually of Cardan and his bishop, have been left unstudied in their dust.

for many years infested Windsor Forest were at last taken and hanged. The vagrancy laws sound terribly severe; but in the reports of the judges on their assize, of which many remain in the State Paper Office, I have not found any one single account of an execution under them. Felons of the worst kind never, perhaps, had easier opportunities. The parish constables were necessarily inefficient as a police; many of them were doubtless shaped after the model of Dogberry; if they bid a man stand and he would not stand they would let him go, and thank God they were rid of a knave. There were sanctuaries within reach all over England, even under the very walls of Newgate, where escaped prisoners could secure themselves. The scarcely tolerable license of ordinary times had broken its last bonds during the agitations of the Reformation, and the audacity of the criminal classes had become so great that organized gangs of them assembled at the gaol deliveries and quarter sessions to overawe the authorities. Ambitious or violent knights and noblemen interfered to rescue or protect their own dependents.[1] They alone were the guardians of the law, and they at their pleasure could suspend the law; while the habit of admitting plea of clergy, and of respecting the precincts of sanctuary, had sunk so deeply into the practice of the country that, although Parliament might declare such privileges curtailed, yet in many districts custom long continued

[1] As we saw recently in the complaints of the Marquis of Exeter. But in this general sketch I am giving the result of a body of correspondence too considerable to quote.

stronger than law. The constables still respected the boundaries traced by superstition; felons were still 'saved by their book;' the English, like the Romans, were a people with whom legislation became strong only when it had stiffened into habit, and had entered slowly and formally into possession of their hearts and understandings.

So many anomalies have at all times existed among English institutions, that the nation has been practised in correcting them; and, even at their worst, the old arrangements may have worked better in reality than under the naked theory might appear to be possible. In a free country each definite instinct or tendency represents itself in the general structure of society. When tendencies, as frequently happens, contradict each other, common sense comes in to the rescue, and, on the whole, justice is done, though at the price of consistency.

But at the period at which this history has now arrived, the evils of the system had obtained a conclusive preponderance. Superstition had become powerless to deter from violence, retaining only the means of preventing the punishment of it:[1] I shall proceed to illustrate the actual condition of the criminal administration between the years 1535 and 1540, by specimens, not indeed selected at random, but such as exhibit, in a marked form, a condition of things which may be

[1] In healthier times the Pope had interfered. A bull of Innocent VIII. permitted felons repeating their crimes, or fraudulent creditors, to be taken forcibly out of sanctuary. —WILKINS's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 621.

traced, in greater or less degree, throughout the judicial and magisterial correspondence of the time.

In the spring of 1535, the sessions at Taunton and Bridgewater were forcibly dissolved by an insurrection of 'wilful persons.' Lord Fitzwarren and a number of other gentlemen narrowly escaped being murdered; and the gang, emboldened by success, sent detachments round the country, thirty of whom the magistrates of Frome reported as having come thither for a similar purpose. The combination was of so serious a kind, that the *posse comitatus* of Somersetshire was called out to put it down. Circulars went round among the principal families, warning them all of what had taken place, and arranging plans for mutual action. Sir John Fitzjames came down from London; and at last, by great exertion, the ringleaders were arrested and brought to trial. The least guilty were allowed to earn their pardon by confession. Twelve who attempted to face out their offence were convicted and executed, four of them at Taunton, four at Bridgewater, and four at the village to which they belonged.[1]

In 1536, 7, 8, or 9,[2] a series of burglaries had been committed in the town and the neighbourhood of Chichester; and there had been a riot also, connected with the robberies, of sufficient importance to be com-

[1] The Magistrates of Frome to Sir Henry Long: *MS. Cotton. Titus*, B 1, 102. Mr Justice Fitzjames to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xi. p. 43.

[2] The letter which I quote is addressed to Cromwell as 'My Lord Privy Seal,' and dated July 17. Cromwell was created privy seal on the 2nd of July, 1536, and Earl of Essex on the 17th of April, 1540. There is no other guide to the date.

municated to the Government. The parties chiefly implicated were discovered and taken; the evidence against them was conclusive, and no attempt was made to shake it; but three 'froward persons' on the jury, one of whom was the foreman, refused to agree to a verdict. They were themselves, the magistrates were aware, either a part of the gang, or privately in league with them; and the help of the Crown was invited for 'the reformation of justice.'[1] I do not find how this matter ended.

Benefit of clergy was taken from felons in 1531-2.[2] At least five years later, when Cromwell was privy seal, three men were arraigned at the gaol delivery at Ipswich, 'upon three several indictments of several felonies.' They were convicted regularly, and their guilt does not seem to have been doubted; but 'every of them prayed their book.' The See of Norwich being vacant at the time, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was suspended; no 'ordinary' was present in court to 'hear them read;' the magistrates thereupon 'reprieved the said felons, without any judgment upon the said verdict.' The prisoners were remanded to the gaol till the spiritual courts were ready to take charge of them: they were kept carelessly, and escaped.[3]

The following extract from a letter written in 1539 will show, better than any general description, the nature of a sanctuary, and the spirit in which the pro-

[1] The Magistrates of Chichester to my Lord Privy Seal: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. x.

[2] 23 Henry VIII. cap. 1.

[3] Humfrey Wingfield to my Lord Privy Seal: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. li.

tection was enjoyed. The number of sanctuaries had been limited by Act of Parliament previous to their final abolition; certain favoured spots were permitted for a time to absorb the villany of the country; and felons who had taken refuge elsewhere, were to be removed into some one of these. Bewley in Hampshire had been condemned to lose its privilege. Richard Layton, the monastic visitor, describes and pleads for it to the privy seal.

'There be sanctuary men here,' he says, 'for debt, felony, and murder, thirty-two; many of them aged, some very sick. They have all, within four, wives and children, and dwelling-houses, and ground, whereby they live with their families; which, being all assembled before us, and the King's pleasure opened to them, they have very lamentably declared that, if they be now sent to other sanctuaries, not only they, but their wives and children also, shall be utterly undone; and therefore have desired us to be mean unto your good lordship that they may remain here for term of their lives, so that none others be received. And because we have certain knowledge that the great number of them, with their wives and children, shall be utterly cast away, their age, impotency, and other things considered, if they be sent to any other place, we have sent this bearer unto you, beseeching your lordship to know the King's pleasure herein.'[1]

The nineteenth century believes, and believes with

[1] Richard Layton to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xx.

justice, that in its treatment of criminals it has made advances in humanity on the practice of earlier times; but the warmest of living philanthropists would scarcely consider so tenderly, in a correspondence with the home secretary, the domestic comforts of thirty-two debtors, felons, and murderers.

But the most detailed accounts of the lawlessness which had spread in the wilder districts of the country are to be found in the reports of the remarkable Rowland Lee, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, Lord Warden of the Welsh Marches, the last survivor of the old martial prelates, fitter for harness than for bishops' robes, for a court of justice than a court of theology; more at home at the head of his troopers, chasing cattle-stealers in the gorges of Llangollen, than hunting heretics to the stake, or chasing formulas in the arduous defiles of controversy. Three volumes are extant of Rowland Lee's letters.[1] They relate almost wholly to the details of his administration on either side of the frontier line from Chester to the mouth of the Wye. The Welsh counties were but freshly organized under the English system. The Welsh customs had but just been superseded by the English common law. The race whose ancient hardihood the castles of Conway, Carnarvon, and Beaumaris remain to commemorate, whom only those stern towers, with their sterner garrisons, could awe into subjection, maintained a shadow of their independence in a wild lawlessness of character. But

[1] *MS. State Paper Office*, second series.

the sense of subjection had been soothed by the proud consciousness that they had bestowed a dynasty upon England; that a blood descendant of Cadwallader was seated on the throne of the Edwards. They had ceased to maintain, like the Irish, a feeling of national hostility. They were suffering now from the intermediate disorders which intervene when a smaller race is merging in a stronger and a larger; when traditional customs are falling into desuetude, and the laws designed to take their place have not yet grown actively into operation. Many of the Welsh gentlemen lived peacefully by honest industry; others, especially along the Border, preferred the character of Highland chieftains, and from their mountain fastnesses levied black rent on the English counties. Surrounded with the sentiment of pseudo-heroism, they revelled in the conceit of imaginary freedom; and with their bards and pedigrees, and traditions of Glendower and Prince Llewellyn, they disguised from themselves and others the plain prose truth, that they were but thieves and rogues.

These were the men whom Rowland Lee was sent to tame into civility—these, and their English neighbours, who, from close proximity and from acquired habits of retaliation for their own injuries, had caught the infection of a similar spirit.

From his many letters I must content myself with taking such extracts as bear most immediately on the working of the criminal law, and illustrate the extreme difficulty of punishing even the worst villanies. To strengthen the Bishop's hands a Council of the Marches

had been established in 1534, with powers similar to those which were given subsequently to the Council of York.

In August, 1537, Lee wrote to Cromwell, 'These shall be to advertise you that where of late I sent unto your lordship a bill of such murders and manslaughters as were done in Cheshire which would not be found until this council set the same forward for condign punishment of the offenders, and although at the late assizes a great number of bills both for murders and riots were put into the great inquest, and good evidence given upon the same,—yet, contrary to their duties to our sovereign lord and their oath, neglecting the course and ministration of justice, they have found murders to be manslaughters, and riots to be misbehaviours. The council could do no less but see the same redressed. We have called the said inquest before us, and committed them to ward for their lightness in the premises. And for as much as I think that suit will be made unto your lordship of my straitness and hard dealing herein, if your lordship will have that country in as good order and stay as we have set other parts, there must be punishment done, or else they will continue in their boldness as they have used heretofore. If your lordship will that I shall deal remissively herein, upon the advertisement of your lordship's mind by your letters, I shall gladly follow the same. Or else, if your lordship do mind reformation of the premises, write unto me a sharp letter to see justice ministered, and to punish such as shall be thought offenders according to this council's discretion for their misbehaviours by fines, strait imprisonment,

and otherwise. For if we should do nothing but as the common law will, these things so far out of order will never be redressed.'

The Bishop's advice was approved. One caution only was impressed upon him by Cromwell—that 'indifferent justice must be ministered to poor and rich according to their demerits;' and gentlemen who were concerned in riots and robberies were not to be spared on account of their position. The Bishop obeyed the admonition, which was probably little needed; soon after, at a quarter sessions, in the presence of the Earl of Worcester, Lord Ferrars, and many gentlemen of the shire, 'four of the best blood in the county of Shropshire' were reported to have been hanged.

Carrying his discipline south, the bishop by-and-by wrote from Hereford:—

'By diligent search and pains we have tried out the greatest nest of thieves that was heard of this many years. They have confessed to the robbing of eighteen churches, besides other felonies, already. This nest was rooted in Gloucestershire at a place called Merkyll, and had recourse to a blind inn, to an old man, who, with his two sons, being arrant thieves, were the receitors. Of this affinity were a great number, of whom we have ten or twelve principals and accessories, and do make out daily for more where we can hear they be. Daily the outlaws submit themselves, or be taken. If he be taken he playeth his pageant. If he come and submit himself, I take him to God's mercy and the King's grace upon his fine.'

Once more, after mentioning the capture of two outlaws, whom he intended to despatch, and of a third, who had been killed in attempting to escape, brought in dead across a horse, and hanged on a market-day at Ludlow, the warden summed up, as a general result of his administration, 'What shall we say further? All the thieves in Wales quake for fear; and at this day we assure you there is but one thief of name, of the sort of outlaws, and we trust to have him shortly; so that now ye may boldly affirm that Wales is redact to that state that one thief taketh another, and one cow keepeth another.'[1]

The Bishop's work was rough; but it was good of its kind, and was carried out in the manner which, in the long run, was most merciful—merciful to honest subjects, who were no longer the prey of marauders—merciful to those whom the impunity of these heroes of the Border might have tempted to imitate their example—merciful to the offenders themselves, who were saved by the gallows from adding to the list of their crimes.

But although order could be enforced where an active resolute man had been chosen to supersede the inefficiency of the local authorities, in other parts of England, in Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall especially, there was no slight necessity still remaining for discipline of a similar kind;

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[1] Correspondence of the Warden and Council of the Welsh Marches with the Lord Privy Seal: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series.

the magistrates had been exhorted again and again in royal proclamations to discharge their duties more efficiently; but the ordinary routine of life was deranged by the religious convulsions; the mainspring of the social system was out of place, and the parts could no longer work in harmony. The expedient would have to be attempted which had succeeded elsewhere; but, before resorting to it, Henry would try once more the effect of an address, and a circular was issued in the ensuing terms:—

'The King to the justices of the peace. Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well,[1] and cannot a little marvel to hear that, notwithstanding our sundry advertisements lately made unto you for the doing of your duties in such offices as in our commonwealth are committed unto you, many things be nevertheless directed at will and pleasure, than either upon any just contemplation of justice, or with any regard to the good monitions which heretofore we have set forth for the advancement of the same. Minding, therefore, yet once again, before we shall correct the lewdness of the offenders with any extremity of law, to give a more general admonition, to the intent no man shall have colour by excuse of ignorance, we have thought meet to write these our letters unto you, and by the same to desire and pray you, and yet, nevertheless, to charge and command you, upon your duties of allegiance, that for the repairing of all things negligently passed, and

[1] *MS. Rolls House*, first series, 494.

for the avoiding of all such damages as may for lack thereof happen unto you, you shall have special care and study to the due and just observation of the points following:—

'First, where we have with our great study, travail, and labour expelled the usurped power of Rome, with all the branches and dependings upon the same, our pleasure is that you shall have a principal regard that the privy maintainers of that Papistical faction may be tried out and brought to justice. For by sundry arguments it is manifest unto us that there wanteth not a number that in that matter retain their old fond fantasies and superstitions, muttering in corners, as they dare, to the maintenance and upholding of them, what countenance soever they do show outwards for avoiding of danger of the law. These kind of men we would have tried out, as the most cankered and venomous worms that be in our commonwealth, both for that they be apparent enemies to God, and manifest traitors to us and to our whole realm, workers of all mischief and sedition within the same.

'Secondly, you shall have special regard that all sturdy vagabonds and valiant beggars may be punished according to the statute made for that purpose. Your default in the execution whereof, proceeding upon an inconsiderate pity to one evil person, without respect to the great multitude that live in honest and lawful sort, hath bred no small inconvenience in our commonwealth. And you shall also have special regard that no man be suffered to use any unlawful games; but that every man

may be encouraged to use the long-bow, as the law requireth.

'Furthermore, our pleasure and most dread commandment is that, all respects set apart, you shall bend yourselves to the advancement of even justice between party and party, both that our good subjects may have the benefit of our laws sincerely administered unto them, and that evil doers may be punished, as the same doth prescribe and limit. To which points, if you shall upon this monition and advertisement give such diligent regard as you may satisfy your duty in the same, leaving and eschewing from henceforth all disguised corruption, we shall be content the more easily to put in oblivion all your former remissness and negligence. But if, on the other part, we shall perceive that this kind of gentle proceeding can work no kind of good effect in you, or any of you, whom we put in trust under us, assure yourselves that the next advice shall be of so sharp a sort as shall bring with it a just punishment of those that shall be found offenders in this behalf: requiring you, therefore, not only for your own part to wax each a new man, if you shall in your own conscience perceive that you have not done your duty as appertained, but also to exhort others of your sort and condition, whom you shall perceive to digress from the true execution of their offices, rather to reconcile and compose themselves than upon any affection, respect, or displeasure to do any such thing as will hereafter minister unto them further repentance, and will not percase, when it should light on their necks, lightly be redubbed. Wherein you shall

show yourselves men of good instruction, and deserve our right hearty thanks accordingly.'

Menace, as usual, was but partially effectual. At length, in the midst of the general stir and excitement of the spring and summer of 1539, while the loyal portion of the country was still under arms, and the Government felt strong enough for the work, we trace the progress of special commissions through the counties where the irregularities had been the greatest, partly to sift to the bottom the history of the Marquis of Exeter's conspiracy, partly to administer discipline to gangs of rogues and vagabonds. Sir Thomas Blunt and Sir Robert Neville went to Worcester and Kidderminster. At the latter place ten felons were hanged.[1] Sir Thomas Willoughby, with Lord Russell and others, was sent into the south and west, where, 'for wilful murders, heinous robberies, and other offences,' Willoughby wrote to Cromwell, that 'divers and many felons suffered.' In Somersetshire four men were hanged for rape and burglary. In Cornwall, Kendall and Quintrell were hanged, with confederates who had acted under them as recruiting agents for Lord Exeter. Other details are wanting; but a general tone of vigour runs through the

[1] At the execution, Latimer's chaplain, Doctor Tailor, preached a sermon. Among the notes of the proceedings I find a certain Miles Denison called up for disrespectful language.

'The said Miles did say: The Bishop sent one yesterday for to preach at the gallows, and there stood upon the vicar's colt and made a foolish sermon of the new learning, looking over the gallows. I would the colt had winced and cast him down.' 'Also during the sermon he did say, I would he were gone, and I were at my dinner.'—*MS. State Paper Office.*

reports, and the gentlemen had so far taken warning from the last proclamation, that the commissioners were able to conclude: 'I assure you, my lord, in every of these same shires there hath been a great appearance of gentlemen and men of worship who have endeavoured themselves, with much diligence, in executing the King's precepts and commandments.'[1] Sir Thomas Wriothesley, who either accompanied the commission, or was in Hampshire independently of it, took advantage of a quarter sessions in that county to stimulate these symptoms of improvement a little further.

The King, he told the magistrates, desired most of all things that indifferent justice should be ministered to the poor and the rich, which, he regretted to say, was imperfectly done. Those in authority too much used their powers, 'that men should follow the bent of their bows,' a thing which 'did not need to be followed.' The chief cause of all the evils of the time was 'the dark setting forth of God's Word,' 'the humming and harking of the priests who ought to read it, and the slanders given to those that did plainly and truly set it forth.' At any rate, the fact was as he described it to be; and they would find, he added significantly, that, if they gave further occasion for complaint, 'God had given them a prince that had force and strength to rule the highest of them.'[2] For the present no further notice was taken of their conduct. There is no evidence

[1] Sir Thomas Willoughby to Cromwell: *MS. Cotton. Titus*, B 1, 386.

[2] The Sheriff of Hampshire to Cromwell: *MS. State Paper Office*, first series, vol. ix.

that any magistrates were deprived or punished. The work which they had neglected was done for them by others, and they were left again to themselves with a clearer field.[1] One noticeable victim, however, fell in this year. There were three indeed, with equal claims to interest; but one, through caprice of fame, has been especially remembered. The great abbots, with but few exceptions, had given cause for suspicion during the late disturbances; that is to say, they had grown to advanced age as faithful subjects of the Papacy; they were too old to begin life again with a new allegiance.[2] The Abbot of Colchester had refused to surrender his house, and concealed or made away with the abbey plate, and had used expressions of most unambiguous anxiety for the success of the rebellions, and of disappointment at their failure.[3] On the first visitation of the monasteries,

[1] The traditions of severity connected with this reign are explained by these exceptional efforts of rigour. The years of license were forgotten; the seasons recurring at long intervals, when the executions might be counted by hundreds, lived in recollection, and when three or four generations had passed, became the measure of the whole period.

[2] 'These three abbots had joined in a conspiracy to restore the Pope.' —Traherne to Bullinger: *Original Letters on the Reformation*, second series, p. 316.

[3] 'Yesterday I was with the Abbot of Colchester, who asked me how the Abbot of St Osith did as touching his house; for the bruit was the King would have it. To the which I answered, that he did like an honest man, for he saith, I am the King's subject, and I and my house and all is the King's; wherefore, if it be the King's pleasure, I, as a true subject, shall obey without grudge. To the which the Abbot answered, the King shall never have my house but against my will and against my heart; for I know, by my learning, he cannot take it by right and law. Wherefore, in my conscience, I cannot be content; nor he shall never have it with my heart and will. To the which I said beware of such learning; for if ye hold such learning as ye learned in Oxenford when ye were young ye will be hanged; and

Whiting, Abbot of Glastonbury, received a favourable character from the visitors. He had taken the oaths to the King without objection, or none is mentioned. He had acquiesced generally, in his place in the House of Lords, in Cromwell's legislation; he had been present at one reading at least of the concluding statute against the Pope's authority.[1] In the last Parliament he had been absent on plea of ill-health; but he appointed no proxy, nor sought apparently to use on either side his legitimate influence. Cromwell's distrust was awakened by some unknown reason.[2] An order went out for an inquiry into his conduct, which was to be executed by three of the visitors, Layton, Pollard, and Moyle. On the 16th of September they were at Reading: on the 22nd they had arrived at Glastonbury.

September.

ye are worthy. But I will advise you to conform yourself as a good subject, or else you shall hinder your brethren and also yourself.'—Sir John St Clair to the Lord Privy Seal: *MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. xxxviii. The Abbot did not take the advice, but ventured more dangerous language.

'The Abbot of Colchester did say that the northern men were good men and *mokell* in the mouth, and 'great crackers' and 'nothing worth in their deeds.' Further, the said Abbot said, at the time of the insurrection, 'I would to Christ that the rebels in the north had the Bishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the lord privy seal amongst them, and then I trust we should have a merry world again.'' —Deposition of Edmund ——: *Rolls House MS.* second series, No. 27.

But the Abbot must have committed himself more deeply, or have refused to retract and make a submission: for I find words of similar purport sworn against other abbots, who suffered no punishment.

[1] *Lords Journals*, 28 Henry VIII.

[2] 'The Abbot of Glastonbury appeareth neither then nor now to have known God nor his prince, nor any part of a good Christian man's religion. They be all false, feigned, flattering hypocrite knaves, as undoubtedly there is none other of that sort.'—Layton to Cromwell: ELLIS, third series, vol. iii. p. 247.

The Abbot was absent at a country house a mile and a half distant. They followed him, informed him of the cause of their coming, and asked him a few questions. His answers were 'nothing to the purpose;' that is to say, he confessed nothing to the visitors' purpose. He was taken back to the abbey; his private apartments were searched, and a book of arguments was found there against the King's divorce, pardons, copies of bulls, and a Life of Thomas à Becket—nothing particularly criminal, though all indicating the Abbot's tendencies. The visitors considered their discoveries 'a great matter.' The Abbot was again questioned; and this time his answers appeared to them 'cankered and traitorous.' He was placed in charge of a guard, and sent to London to the Tower, to be examined by Cromwell himself, when it was discovered that both he and the Abbot of Reading had supplied the northern insurgents with money.[1] The occasion of his absence was taken for the dissolution of the house; and, as the first preliminary, an inventory was made of the plate, the furniture, and the money in the treasury. Glastonbury was one of the wealthiest of the religious houses. A

[1] 'For the holy religious abbots of Reading and Glastonbury had conjured the said Cardinal Pole's elder brother, named the Marquis Montague, with the other Marquis of Exeter; and so far was the matter gone from hand to hand, that some of the King's most familiar friends, and of his Majesty's privy chamber, and of his council, were corrupted with that malicious person. Yea, and moreover, it passed conspiracy to come to effect. For part of these rebels, to the number of 800, in the second insurrection in the North, were paid with money sent them from those abbots out of the South. How say you now? Was it time, trow you, for the King to look about him?'—*Pilgrim*, p. 65.

less experienced person than Layton would have felt some surprise when he found that neither plate, jewels, nor ornaments were forthcoming sufficient for an ordinary parish church. But deceptions of this kind were too familiar to a man who had examined half the religious houses in England. He knew immediately that the abbey treasure was either in concealment or had been secretly made away with. Foreseeing the impending destruction of this establishment, the monks had been everywhere making use of their opportunities of plunder. The altar plate, in some few instances, may have been secreted from a sentiment of piety—from a desire to preserve from sacrilege vessels consecrated to holy uses. But plunder was the rule; piety was the exception. A confession of the Abbot of Barlings contains a frank avowal of the principles on which the fraternities generally acted. This good abbot called his convent into the chapter-house, and, by his own acknowledgment, addressed them thus:—

'Brethren, ye hear how other religious men be intreated, and how they have but forty shillings a piece given them and are let go. But they that have played the wise men amongst them have provided aforehand for themselves, and sold away divers things wherewith they may help themselves hereafter. And ye hear also this rumour that goeth abroad that the greater abbeys shall down also. Wherefore, by your advice, this shall be my counsel, that we do take such plate as we have, and certain of the best vestments and copes, and set them aside, and sell them if need be, and so divide the

money coming thereof when the house is suppressed. And I promise you of my faith and conscience ye shall have your part, and of every penny that I have during my life; and thereupon,' he concluded, 'the brethren agreed thereunto.'[1]

Had there been no discovery of treason, a less severe Government than that of Henry VIII. would have refused to tolerate conduct of this kind. Those who decline to recognize the authority of an Act of Parliament over the property of corporate bodies, cannot pretend that a right of ownership was vested in persons whose tenure, at its best and surest, was limited by their lives. For members of religious houses to make away their plate was justly construed to be felony; and the law, which was necessarily general, could not recognize exceptions on the ground of piety of motive, when such an exception would but have furnished a screen behind which indiscriminate pillage might have been carried on with impunity. The visitors had been warned to be careful,[2] and practice had made them skil-

[1] Confession of the Abbot of Barlings: *MS. Cotton. Cleopatra*, E 4.

[2] 'And for as much as experience teacheth that many of the heads of such houses, notwithstanding their oaths, taken upon the holy evangelists, to present to such the King's Majesty's commissioners as have been addressed unto them, true and perfect inventories of all things belonging to their monasteries, many things have been left out, embezzled, stolen, and purloined—many rich jewels, much rich plate, great store of precious ornaments, and sundry other things of great value and estimation, to the damage of the King's Majesty, and the great peril and danger of their own souls, by reason of their wilful and detestable perjury: the said commissioners shall not only at every such house examine the head and convent substantially, of all such things so concealed or unlawfully alienated, but also

ful in means of detection. On the first day of the investigation at Glastonbury, 'a fair chalice of gold' came to light, 'with divers other parcels of plate;' all of which the abbot had concealed, committing perjury in doing so, on their previous visitation.[1] The next day brought out more; and the day after more again. Gold and silver in vessels, ornaments, and money were discovered 'mured up in walls, vaults, and other secret places,' some hidden by the Abbot, some by the convent. Two monks who were treasurers, with the lay clerks of the vestry, were found to have been 'arrant thieves.' At length as much treasure of various sorts was recovered as would have begun a new abbey.[2] The visitors did not trouble themselves to speculate on the abbot's intentions. He had not perhaps imitated the behaviour of the Abbot of Barlings; but, like the northern abbots, he had been hoarding a fund to subsidize insurrection, preserving the treasures of the temple to maintain the temple's defenders. The letter communicating these discoveries to the Government was written on the 28th of September. Another followed on the 2nd of October, stating that, since the despatch of the last, the visitors 'had come to the knowledge of divers

shall give charge to all the ministers and servants of the same houses, and such of the neighbours dwelling near about them as they shall think meet, to detect and open all such things as they have known or heard to have been that way misused, to the intent the truth of all things may the better appear accordingly.'

—Instructions to the Monastic Commissioners: *MS. Tanner*, 105, *Bodleian Library*.

[1] Pollard, Moyle, and Layton to Cromwell: BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 499.

[2] Same to the same: *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 619.

and sundry treasons committed and done by the Abbot of Glastonbury, the certainty whereof would appear in a Book of Depositions,' which they forwarded with the accusers' names attached to their statements, 'very haut and rank treason.'[1] The Book perhaps contained details and proofs of the connection of the Abbot with the Pilgrimage of Grace; at all events, those who desire to elevate the Abbot of Glastonbury to the rank of the martyr, confess, in doing so, their belief that he was more faithful to the Church than to the State, that he was guilty of regarding the old ways as better than the new, and that he had acted in the spirit of his belief. The Pope by his latest conduct had embittered the quarrel to the utmost. He had failed to excite a holy war against England, but three English merchants had been burnt by the Inquisition in Spain.[2] Five more had been imprisoned and one had been tortured only for declaring that they considered Henry VIII. to be a Christian. Their properties had been confiscated, they had borne faggots and candles in a procession as sanbenitos,[3] and Paul had issued a promise of indulgence to all pious Catholics who would kill an English heretic.[4]

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[1] *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 621.

[2] Butler, Elliot, and Traherne to Conrad Pellican: *Original Letters*, second series, p. 624.

[3] Thomas Perry to Ralph Vane: Ellis, second series, vol. ii. p. 140.

[4] I should have distrusted the evidence, on such a point, of excited Protestants (see *Original Letters on the Reformation*, p. 626), who could invent and exaggerate as well as their opponents; but the promise of these indulgences was certainly made, and Charles V. prohibited the publication of the brief containing it in Spain or Flanders. 'The Emperor,'

Six weeks elapsed before the Abbot's fate was decided, part or the whole of which time he was in London. At the beginning of November he was sent back into Somersetshire, already condemned at a tribunal where Cromwell sat as prosecutor, jury, and judge. His escape in a more regular court was not contemplated as a possibility; among loose papers of Cromwell still remaining there is a memorandum in his own hand for 'the trial and execution' of the Abbot of Glastonbury.[1] But the appearance of unfair dealing was greater than the reality. Lord Russell, whose stainless character was worthy of his name, was one of the commissioners before whom the trial was conducted; and Russell has left on record his approval of, and acquiescence, in the conduct of the case, in plain and unmistakeable language. Whiting was arraigned at Wells on Thursday, the 14th of November, with his treasurers, 'before as worshipful a jury as was charged there for many years.'[2] The crime of which he was formally accused was robbing the abbey church; and there was no doubt that he was guilty of having committed that crime, to whatever the guilt may have amounted. But if the Government had prosecuted in every instance of abbey-church robbery, a monk would have hung in chains at all the cross roads

November.

Nov. 14.

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wrote Cromwell to Henry, 'hath not consented that the Pope's mandament should be published neither in Spain, neither in any other his dominions, that Englishmen should be destroyed in body, in goods, wheresoever they could be found, as the Pope would they should be.'—*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 608.

[1] *MS. Cotton.*

[2] Lord Russell to Cromwell: *MS. Cotton. Cleopatra*, E 4.

in England. The Abbot of Glastonbury was tried and convicted of felony; his real offence was treason, as the word was interpreted by Cromwell. He was unpopular in the county, and among his dependents. 'There were many bills,' Lord Russell said, 'put up against the Abbot, by his tenants and others, for wrongs and injuries that he had done them.'[2] He was sentenced to death, and the day following was fixed for the execution. He was taken with the two monks from Wells to Glastonbury; he was drawn through the town in the usual manner, and thence to the top of the conical hill which rises out of the level plain of Somersetshire, called Glastonbury Torre. To the last he was tormented with questions, 'but he would accuse no man but himself;' he only requested the visitors' servants who were present on the Torre to entreat their masters and Lord Russell 'to desire the King's Highness of his merciful goodness and in the way of charity to forgive him his great offences by him committed and done against his Grace.'[1] The modern student, to whom the passions and the difficulties of the time are as a long-forgotten dream, who sees only the bleak hill-top on the dreary November day, the gallows, and an infirm old man guilty of nothing which he can understand to be a crime, shudders at the needless cruelty. Cromwell, for his share in this policy of death, was soon to receive as he had given; a few more months, and he too on Tower Hill would pass to his account.

Nov. 15.

[1] Lord Russell to Cromwell: *MS. Cotton. Cleopatra*, E 4.

[2] Pollard to Cromwell: *Suppression of the Monasteries*, p. 261.

CHAPTER XVII.

ANNE OF CLEVES AND THE FALL OF CROMWELL.

THE King's marriage could not be longer delayed. Almost three years had been wasted in fruitless negotiations, and the state of his health threatened, more and more clearly, that his life would not be prolonged to any advanced period. The death of the Duke of Richmond[1] was a fresh evidence of the absence of vital stamina in Henry's male children; and the anxious and impatient people saw as yet but a single fragile life between the country and a disputed succession. The disloyal Romanists alone desired to throw obstacles between the King and a fresh connection—alone calumniated his motives, and looked forward hopefully to the possible and probable confusion.

Among the ladies who had been considered suitable to take the place of Queen Jane, the name had been mentioned, with no especial commendation, of Anne, daughter of the Duke of Cleves, and sister-in-law of the Elector of Saxony. She had been set aside in favour of

[1] Henry Fitz Roy, Duke of Richmond, died July 22, 1536.

the Duchess of Milan; but, all hopes in this quarter having been abruptly and ungraciously terminated, Cromwell once more turned his eyes towards a connection which, more than any other, would make the Emperor repent of his discourtesy—and would further at the same time the great object which the condition of Europe now, more than ever, showed him to be necessary—a league of all nations of the Teutonic race in defence of the Reformation. A marriage between the King and a German Protestant princess would put a final end to Anglo-Imperial trifling; and, committing England to a definite policy abroad, it would neutralize at home the efforts of the framers of the Six Articles, and compel the King, whether he desired it or not, to return to a toleration of Lutheran opinions and Lutheran practices.

The opportunity of urging such an alliance on Henry was more than favourable. He had been deceived, insulted, and menaced by the Emperor; his articles of union had been converted by the bishops into articles of a vindictive persecution; and the Anglicans, in their indiscreet animosity, had betrayed their true tendencies, and had shown how little, in a life-and-death struggle with the Papacy, he could depend upon their lukewarm zeal for independence. Affecting only to persecute heterodoxy, they had extended their vengeance to every advocate for freedom, to every enemy of ecclesiastical exemptions and profitable superstitions; and the King, disappointed and exasperated, was in a humour, while snatching their victims from their grasp, to consent to a

step which would undo their victory in Parliament. The occasion was not allowed to cool. Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of May, with an intimation from the Crown that the religious question was not to be regarded as finally settled.[1] The treaty with Cleves was so far advanced on the 17th of July that Lord Hertford[2] was able to congratulate Cromwell on the consent of Anne's brother and mother.[3] The lady had been previously intended for a son of a Duke of Lorraine; and Henry, whom experience had made anxious, was alarmed at the name of a 'pre-contract.' But Dr Wotton, who was sent over to arrange the preliminaries, and was instructed to see the difficulty cleared, was informed and believed that the engagement had never advanced to a form which brought with it legal obligations, and that Anne was at liberty to marry wherever she pleased.[4] Of her personal attractions

May 11.

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[1] 'Animadvertens sua clementia quod maxime hoc convenerat parliamentum pro bono totius Regni publico et concordiâ Christianæ religionis stabiliendâ, non tam cito quam propter rei magnitudinem, quæ non solum regnum ipsum Angliæ concernit verum etiam alia regna et universi Christianismi Ecclesias quantumvis diversarum sententiarum quæ in eam rem oculos et animum habebant intentos, sua Majestas putavit tam propriâ suâ regiâ diligentiâ et studio quam etiam episcoporum et cleri sui sedulitate, rem maturius consultandam, tractandam et deliberandam.'—Speech of the Lord Chancellor at the Prorogation: *Lords Journals*, vol. i. p. 137.

[2] Brother of Jane Seymour; afterwards Protector.

[3] 'I am as glad of the good resolutions of the Duke of Cleves, his mother, and council, as ever I was of anything since the birth of the prince: for I think the King's Highness should not in Christendom marry in no place meet for his Grace's honour that should be less prejudicial to his Majesty's succession.'—Hertford to Cromwell: ELLIS, first series, vol. ii. p. 119.

[4] 'I find the council willing enough to publish and manifest to

Wotton reported vaguely. He said that she had been well brought up; but ladies of rank in Germany were not usually taught accomplishments. She could speak no language except her own, nor could she play on any instrument. He supposed, however, that she would be able to learn English easily and rapidly; and he comforted the King by assuring him that at least she had no taste for 'the heavy-headed revels' of her countrymen.[1] Wotton could not be accused of having lent himself to a deception as to the lady's recommendations. It would have been well for Cromwell if he too had been equally scrupulous. He had been warned beforehand of an unattractiveness, so great as to have overcome the spontaneous belief in the beauty of royal ladies;[2] but, intent upon the success of his policy, he disregarded information which his conduct proves him to have partially believed. Holbein was despatched to take the princess's picture; and Holbein's inimitable skill would not have failed so wholly in conveying a true impression of the original if he had not received an intimation that an agreeable portrait was expected of him; while, as soon as it was brought into England, Cromwell's agents praised to the King 'her features, beauty, and princely proportions,' and assured him that the resemblance was

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the world that by any covenants made by the old Duke of Cleves and the Duke of Lorraine, my Lady Anne is not bounden; but ever hath been and yet is at her free liberty to marry wherever she will.'—Wotton to the King: ELLIS, first series, vol. ii. p. 121.

[1] Ibid.

[2] 'The Duke of Cleves hath a daughter, but I hear no great praise, either of her personage nor beauty.' —Hutton to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 5.

perfect.[1] The German commission was as expeditious as the Spanish had been dilatory. To allay any uneasiness which might remain with respect to the Six Articles, and to furnish a convincing evidence of the toleration which was practised, Dr Barnes was sent over as one of the English representatives; and he carried with him the comforting assurance that the persecution had been terminated, and that the Gospel had free way. His assertions were afterwards confirmed by unsuspicious and independent evidence. 'There is no persecution,' wrote a Protestant in London, a few months later, to Bullinger. 'The Word is powerfully preached. Books of every kind may safely be exposed to sale.'[2] 'Good pastors,' wrote another, 'are freely preaching the truth, nor has any notice been taken of them on account of the articles.'[3] Even the Elector of Saxony, jealous and distrustful as he had ever been of Henry, was so far satisfied as to write to him that he understood 'the sharpness of the decree of the Six Articles to be modified by the wisdom and moderation of his Highness, and the execution of it not put in use.'[4]

All promised well; but it is not to be supposed that Cromwell was allowed without resistance to paralyze a measure which had been carried by an almost unanimous Parliament. More than half the privy council, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Bishops of Win-

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[1] Stow.

[2] Butler to Bullinger: *Original Letters on the Reformation*, p. 627.

[3] Partridge to Bullinger: ibid. p. 614.

[4] The Elector of Saxony to Henry VIII.: STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 437.

chester, Durham, and Chichester, were openly and violently opposed to him. The House of Lords and the country gentlemen, baffled, as it seemed to them, by his treachery (for he had professed to go along with their statute while it was under discussion), maintained an attitude of sullen menace or open resistance. If the laws against the heretics might not be put in force, they would lend no help to execute the laws against the Romanists.[1] They despised Cromwell's injunctions, though supported by orders from the Crown. They would not acknowledge so much as the receipt of his letters. He was playing a critical and most dangerous game, in which he must triumph or be annihilated. The King warned him repeatedly to be cautious;[2] but the terms on which he had placed himself with the nobility had perhaps passed the point where caution could have been of use. He answered haughtiness by haughtiness; and he left his fate to the chances of fortune, careless what it might be, if only he could accomplish his work while life and power remained to him. One illustration of his relation with the temporal peers shall be given in this place, conveying, as it does, other allusions also, the drift of which is painfully intelligible. The following letter is written in Cromwell's own hand. The address is lost, but the rank of the

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[1] See a correspondence between Cranmer and a Justice of the Peace: JENKINS'S *Cranmer*, vol. i.

[2] 'I would to Christ I had obeyed your often most gracious grave councils and advertisements. Then it had not been with me as now it is.'—Cromwell to the King: BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 510.

person or persons to whom it was sent is apparent from the contents:—

'After my right hearty commendations, the King's Highness, being informed that there be two priests in your town, called Sir William Winstanley, which is now in ward, the other called Sir William Richardson, otherwise Good Sir William, hath commanded me to signify to you that, upon the receipt hereof, you shall send both the said priests hither as prisoners in assured custody. His Grace cannot a little marvel to hear of the Papistical faction that is maintained in that town, and by you chiefly that are of his Grace's council. Surely his Majesty thinketh that you have little respect either to him, or to his laws, or to the good order of that town, which so little regard him in a matter of so great weight, which, also, his Highness hath so much to heart; and willed me plainly to say to you all and every of you, that in case he shall perceive from henceforth any such abuses suffered or winked at as have been hitherto, in manner in contempt of his most royal estate, his Highness will put others in the best of your rooms that so offend him, by whom he will be better served. It is thought against all reason that the prayers of women, and their fond flickerings, should move any of you to do that thing that should in anywise displease your prince and sovereign lord, or offend his just laws. And, if you shall think any extremity in this writing, you must thank yourselves that have procured it; for neither of yourselves have you regarded these matters, nor answered to many of my letters, written for like purposes

and upon like occasions: wherein, though I have not made any accusation, yet, being in the place for these things that I am, I have thought you did me therein too much injury, and such as I am assured his Highness, knowing it, would not have taken it in good part. But this matter needeth no aggravation, ne I have done anything in it more than hath been by his Majesty thought meet, percase not so much; and thus heartily fare you well.

'Your Lordship's assured

'THOMAS CROMWELL.'[1]

Between the minister and the King the points of difference were large and increasing. The conduct which had earned for Cromwell the hatred of the immense majority of the people, could not but at times have been regarded disapprovingly by a person who shared so deeply as Henry in the English conservative spirit; while Cromwell, again, was lavish in his expenditure, and the outlay upon the fleet and the Irish army, the cost of suppression of the insurrection, and of the defences of the coast, at once vast and unusual, were not the less irritating because they could not be denied to be necessary. A spirit of economy in the reaction from his youthful extravagance was growing over Henry with his advancing years; he could not reconcile himself to a profusion to which, even with the addition of the Church lands, his resources were alto-

[1] *MS. Cotton. Cleopatra*, E 4.

gether unequal, without trespassing on his subjects' purses; and the conservative faction in the council took advantage of his ill humour to whisper that the fault was in the carelessness, the waste, and the corruption of the privy seal. Cromwell knew it well.[1] Two years

[1] He required, probably, no information that his enemies would spare no means, fair or foul, for his destruction. But their plots and proceedings had been related to him two years before by his friend Allen, the Irish Master of the Rolls, in a report of expressions which had been used by George Paulet, brother of the lord treasurer, and one of the English Commissioners at Dublin. Cromwell, it seems, had considered that estates in Ireland forfeited for treason, or non-residence, would be disposed of better if granted freely to such families as had remained loyal, than if sold for the benefit of the Crown. Speaking of this matter, 'The King,' Paulet said, 'beknaveth Cromwell twice a week, and would sometimes knock him about the pate. He draws every day towards his death, and escaped very hardly at the last insurrection. He is the greatest briber in England, and that is espied well enough. The King has six times as much revenues as ever any of his noble progenitors had, and all is consumed and gone to nought by means of my lord privy seal, who ravens all that he can get. After all the King's charges to recover this land, he is again the only means to cause him to give away his revenues; and it shall be beaten into the King's head how his treasure has been needlessly wasted and consumed, and his profits and revenues given away by sinister means.' 'Cromwell,' Paulet added, 'has been so handled and taunted by the council in these matters, as he is weary of them; but I will so work my matter, as the King shall be informed of every penny that he hath spent here; and when that great expence is once in his head, it shall never be forgotten there is one good point. And then I will inform him how he hath given away to one man seven hundred marks by the year. And then will the King swear by God's body, have I spent so much money and now have given away my land? There was never king so deceived by man. I will hit him by means of my friends.'—*State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 551. It is not clear how much is to be believed of Paulet's story so far as relates to the King's treatment of Cromwell. The words were made a subject of an inquiry before Sir Anthony St Leger; and Paulet meant, it seemed, that the 'beknaving and knocking about the pate' took place in private before no witnesses; so that, if true, it could only have been known by the ac-

previously he had received full warning that they were on the watch to take advantage of any momentary displeasure against him in the King. They were not likely to have been conciliated subsequently by the deaths of the Marquis of Exeter and Lord Montague, for which he personally was held responsible; and he prepared for the fate which he foresaw, in making settlements on his servants, that they might not suffer by his attainder.[1] The noble lords possessed, undoubtedly, one serious advantage against him. His own expenses were as profuse as the expenses of the State under his management. His agents were spread over Europe. He bought his information anywhere, and at any cost; and secret-service money for such purposes he must have provided, like his successor in the same policy, Sir Francis Walsingham, from his own resources. As a self-raised statesman, he had inherited only a moderate fortune. His position as a nobleman was to be maintained; and it was maintained so liberally, that two hundred poor were every day supplied with food at his gate. The salaries of his offices and the rents of such estates as the King had given to him were inadequate for such irregular necessities. In Cromwell, the questionable practice of most great men of his time—the practice of receiving pensions and presents for general support and patronage—was carried to an extent which even then, perhaps, appeared excessive. It is evident, from his whole correspondence,

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knowledgments of the King or of Cromwell himself. But the character of the intrigues for Cromwell's destruction is made very plain.

[1] FOXE'S *History of Cromwell.*

that he received as profusely as he spent. We trace in him no such ambitious splendour as he had seen in Wolsey. He was contented with the moderate maintenance of a nobleman's establishment. But power was essential to him; and a power like that which Cromwell wielded, required resources which he obtained only by exposing his reputation while alive, and his good name in history, to not unmerited blame.

Weighted as he was with faults, which his high purposes but partially excuse, he fought his battle bravely—alone—against the world. The German marriage did not pass without a struggle at the council-board. Cromwell had long recognized his strongest and most dangerous enemy in the person of Stephen Gardiner. So much he dreaded the subtle Bishop, that he had made an effort once to entangle him under the Supremacy Act;[1] but Gardiner had glided under the shadow of the

[1] A paper of ten interrogatories is in the Rolls House, written in Cromwell's hand, addressed to a Mr John More. More's opinion was required on the supremacy, and among the questions asked him were these:—

What communication hath been between you and the Bishop of Winchester touching the primacy of the Bishop of Rome?

What answers the said Bishop made unto you upon such questions as ye did put to him?

Whether ye have heard the said Bishop at any time in any evil opinion contrary to the statutes of the realm, concerning the primacy of the Bishop of Rome or any other foreign potentate?—*Rolls House MS.* A 2, 30, fol. 67.

In another collection I found a paper of Mr More's answers; but it would seem (unless the MS. is imperfect) that he replied only to the questions which affected himself. The following passage, however, is curious:—'The cause why I demanded the questions (on the primacy) of my Lord of Winchester was for that I heard it, as I am now well remembered, much spoken of in the Parliament House, and taken among many there to be a doubt as ye, Mr Secretary, well know. And for so much as I esteemed my lord's

Act, and had escaped its grasp. Smooth, treacherous, and plausible, he had held his way along the outer edge of the permitted course, never committing himself, commanding the sympathy of English conservatism, the patron of those suspected of Romanism on one side, as Cromwell was the patron of heretics; but self-possessed and clear-headed, watching the times, knowing that the reaction must have its day at last, and only careful to avoid the precipitancy, in future, into which he had blundered after the Six Articles Bill. His rival's counter-move had checked him, but he waited his opportunity; and when Barnes was sent as commissioner into Germany, Gardiner challenged openly before the council the appointment, for such a purpose, of a man who was 'defamed of heresy.' He was supported, apparently, by the Bishop of Chichester, or the latter ventured to thwart the privy seal in some other manner. Cromwell for the moment was strong enough to bear his opponents down. They were both dismissed from the privy council.[1] But this arbitrary act was treated as a breach of the tacit compact under which the opposing parties endured each other's presence. If the Bishop of Durham's chaplain spoke the truth, an attempt was made, in which

wisdom and learning to be such, that I thought I would not be better answered, because I heard you, Mr Secretary, say he was much affectionate to the Papacy.'—*Rolls House MS.* first series, 863.

[1] 'The Bishop of Winchester was put out of the privy council, because my lord privy seal took displeasure with him because he should say it was not meet that Dr Barnes, being a man defamed of heresy, should be sent ambassador. Touching the Bishop of Chichester there was not heard any cause why he was put forth from the privy council.' — Depositions of Christopher Chator: *Rolls House MS.* first series.

even Lord Southampton bore a share, to bring Tunstall forward in Gardiner's place.[1] And though this scheme failed, through the caution of the principal persons interested, the grievances remained, embittered by a forced submission: a fresh debt had been contracted, bearing interest till it was paid.

As great, or a greater, danger embarrassed Cromwell from the folly of his friends. So long as the tide was in their favour, the Protestants indulged in insolent excesses, which provoked, and almost justified, the anger with which they were regarded. Hitherto they had held a monopoly of popular preaching. Tradition and authority had been with the Catholics: the rhetoric had been mainly with their adversaries. In the summer the interest of London was suddenly excited on the other side by a Catholic orator of extraordinary powers, a Dr Watts, unknown before or after this particular crisis, but for the moment a principal figure on the stage. Watts attracted vast audiences;

August.

[1] 'Then said Craye to me, There was murmuring and saying by the progress of time that my lord privy seal should be out of favour with his prince. Marry, said I, I heard of such a thing. I heard at Woodstock of one Sir Launcelot Thornton, a chaplain of the Bishop of Durham, who shewed me that the Earl of Hampton, Sir William Kingston, and Sir Anthony Brown were all joined together, and would have had my Lord of Durham to have had rule and chief saying under the King's Highness. Then said Craye to me, It was evil doing of my lord your master that would not take it upon hand, for he might have amended many things that were amiss; for, if the Bishop of Winchester might have had the saying, he would have taken it upon hand. Well, said I, my lord my master is too good a lawyer, knowing by his book the inconstancy of princes, where there is a text that saith: Lubricus est primus locus apud Reges.'—*MS.* ibid.

and the Protestants could not endure a rival, and were as little able as their opponents to content themselves with refuting him by argument. He was summoned, on a charge of false doctrine, before the Archbishop of Canterbury; and even moderate persons were scandalized when they saw Barnes sitting by the side of Cranmer as assessor in a cause of heresy.[1] It appeared, and perhaps it was designed, as an insult—as a deliberately calculated outrage. Ten thousand London citizens proposed to walk in procession to Lambeth, to require the restoration of their teacher; and, although the open demonstration was prevented by the City officers, an alderman took charge of their petition, and offered, unless the preacher's offence was high treason, to put in bail for him in the name of the corporation.[2]

There were, perhaps, circumstances in the case beyond those which appear; but, instead of listening to the request of the city, the Archbishop spirited away the preacher into Kent, and his friends learned, from the boasts of their adversaries, that he was imprisoned and ill-used. He was attached, it seems, Sept. 17.

[1] 'There was an honest man in London called Dr Watts, which preacheth much against heresy; and this Dr Watts was called before my Lord of Canterbury, and Dr Barnes should be either his judge or his accuser.' — *Rolls House MS.* first series.

[2] 'There was an alderman in Gracechurch-street that came to my Lord of Canterbury, and one with him, and said to my Lord of Canterbury: Please your Grace that we are informed that your Grace hath our master Watts by hold. And if it be for treason we will not speak for him, but if it be for heresy or debt we will be bound for him in a thousand pound; for there was ten thousand of London coming to your lordship to be bound for him, but that we stayed them.'— *MS.* ibid.

to the Victuallers' Company. 'There is no persecution,' wrote a Protestant fanatic, 'except of the Victuallers; of which sect a certain impostor of the name of Watts, formerly of the order of wry-necked cattle, is now holding forth, oh, shame! in the stocks at Canterbury Bridewell, having been accustomed to mouth elsewhere against the Gospel.'[1]

While England was thus fermenting towards a second crisis, the German marriage was creating no less anxiety on the Continent. As it was Cromwell's chief object to unite England with the Lutherans, so was Charles V. anxious above all things to keep them separate; and no sooner was he aware that the Duke of Cleves had consented to give his sister to Henry than he renewed his offer of the Duchess of Milan. The reply was a cold and peremptory refusal;[2] and the Emperor, seeing that the English Government would not be again trifled with, determined to repair into Flanders, in order to be at hand, should important movements take place in Germany.[3] To give menace and significance to his

[1] Butler to Bullinger: *Original Letters on the Reformation*, p. 627.

[2] 'As to the matter concerning the Duchess of Milan, when his Highness had heard it, he paused a good while, and at the last said, smiling, "Have they remembered themselves now?" To the which I said, "Sir, we that be your servants are much bound to God, they to woo you whom ye have wooed so long." He answered coldly: "They that would not when they might, percase shall not when they would."'—Southampton to Cromwell, Sept. 17, 1539: *State Papers*, vol. i.

[3] 'There should be three causes why the Emperor should come into these parts—the one for the mutiny of certain cities which were dread in time to allure and stir all or the more part of the other cities to the like; the second, for the alliance which the King's Majesty hath made with the house of Cleves, which he greatly stomacheth; the

journey, he resolved, if possible, to pass through France on his way, and in a manner so unformal and confidential as, perhaps, might contribute towards substantiating his relations with Francis, or, at least, might give the world the impression of their entire cordiality.

October. The proposal of a visit from the Emperor, when made known at Paris, was met with a warm and instant assent; and many were the speculations to which an affair so unexpected gave occasion in Europe. But the minds of men were not long at a loss, and Henry's intended marriage was soon accepted as an adequate explanation. The danger of a Protestant league[1] compelled the Catholic powers to bury their

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third, for the confederacy, as they here call it, between his Majesty and the Almayns. The fear which the Emperor hath of these three things hath driven him to covet much the French King's amity.' —Stephen Vaughan to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 203.

[1] 'The King will now complete the long-desired league with the princes of Germany; he will first gain the Duke of Saxe, who has married another sister of the same house; the Duke of Saxe will bring with him the confederation; and the King will find them the means of providing so large an army that no one will venture to meddle with them.

'As to religion, his Highness thinks that, with the joint influence of himself and the Duke of Cleves, he can soften down the asperities which are now distracting Germany, and find some honourable middle course by which the troubles there may be composed.

'Further, his Highness having but one son, desires to marry for the sake of children, and he considers that he can do no better than take this lady, who is of convenient age, sound health, and fair stature, with many other graces which his Majesty says that she possesses. He has failed to find a wife for himself in France or Spain; and next to your alliance, Sire, or the Emperor's, he considers a connection with the house of Cleves the best that he can make, especially at this moment, when so many novelties menace the principles of religion, and the German princes show themselves so prompt to defend the doctrines which they were the first to introduce.' — Marillac to

rivalries; and a legate was despatched from Rome to be present at the meeting at Paris.[1] Reginald Pole, ever on the watch for an opportunity to strike a blow at his country, caught once more at the opening, and submitted a paper on the condition of England to the Pope, showing how the occasion might be improved. The Emperor was aware, Pole said, that England had been lost to the Holy See in a Spanish quarrel, and for the sake of a Spanish princess; and he knew himself to be bound in honour, however hitherto he had made pretexts for delay, to assist in its recovery. His Imperial oaths, the insults to his family, the ancient alliance between England and the house of Burgundy, with his own promises so often repeated, alike urged the same duty upon him; and now, at last, he was able to act without difficulty. The rivalry between France and Spain had alone encouraged Henry to defy the opinion of Europe. That rivalry was at an end. The two sovereigns had only to unite in a joint remonstrance against his conduct, with a threat that he should be declared a public enemy if he persisted in his course, and his submission would be instant. He would not dare to refuse. He could

Francis I. Oct. 25, 1539: *MS. Bibliot. Impér. Paris.*

[1] 'There is great suspicion and jealousy to be taken to see these two great princes so familiar together, and to go conjointly in secret practices, in which the Bishop of Rome seemeth to be intelligent, who hath lately sent his nephew, Cardinal Farnese, to be present at the parliament of the said princes in France. The contrary part cannot brook the King's Majesty and the Almains to be united together, which is no small fear and terror as well to Imperials as the Papisticals, and no marvel if they fury, fearing thereby some great ruin.'—Harvel to Cromwell from Venice, December 9.

not trust his subjects: they had risen once of themselves, and he knew too well the broken promises, the treachery and cruelty, with which he had restored order, to risk their fury, should they receive effective support from abroad. Without striking a single blow, the Catholic powers might achieve a glorious triumph, and heal the gaping wound in the body of Christ.[1] So wrote, and so thought the English traitor, with all human probabilities in his favour, and only the Eternal Powers on the other side. The same causes which filled Pole with hope struck terror into weak and agitated hearts in the country which he was seeking to betray; the wayfarers on the highroads talked to each other in despair of the impending ruin of the kingdom, left naked without an ally to the attacks of the world.[2]

Spreading around him such panics and such expectations, the Emperor entered France almost simultaneously with the departure of Anne of Cleves from her mother's side to the shores of England. Pity that, in

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[1] *Epist. Reginaldi Poli*, vol. v. p. 150. In this paper, Pole says that the Duke of Norfolk stated to the King in a despatch from Doncaster, when a battle seemed imminent, 'that his troops could not be trusted; their bodies were with the King, but their minds with the rebels.' His information was, perhaps, derived from his brother Geoffrey, who avowed an intention of deserting.

[2] 'The said Helyard said to me that the Emperor was come into France, and should marry the King's daughter; and the Duke of Orleans should marry the Duchess of Milan, and all this was by the Bishop of Rome's means; and they were all confedered together, and as for the Scottish King, he was always the French King's man, and we shall all be undone, for we have no help now but the Duke of Cleves, and they are so poor they cannot help us.' — Depositions of Christopher Chator: *Rolls House MS.* first series.

the game of diplomacy, statesmen are not compelled to use their own persons for their counters! are not forbidden to cast on others the burden of their own failures!

Francis, in order to show Charles the highest courtesy, despatched the constable Montmorency, with the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, to Bayonne, and offered, if the Emperor distrusted him, that his sons should be detained as pledges for his good faith. Charles would not be outdone in generosity; when he gave his confidence he gave it without reserve; and, without accepting the security, he crossed the frontier, attended only by his personal train, and made his way to the capital, with the two princes at his side, through a succession of magnificent entertainments. On the 1st of January, 1540. January he entered Paris, where he was to remain for a week; and Henry, at once taking the initiative, made an opportunity to force him, if possible, to a declaration of his intentions. Attached to the Imperial household was a Welshman named Brancetor, uncle of 'young Rice,' who had been executed for a conspiracy against Henry's life in 1531. This man, having been originally obliged to leave England for debt, had contrived, while on the Continent, by assiduity of treason, to assume the more interesting character of a political refugee. He had attached himself to Pole and to Pole's fortunes; he had exerted himself industriously in Spain in persuading English subjects to violate their allegiance; and in the Parliament of the previous spring he had been rewarded by the distinction of a place in the list of attainted traitors.

Analogous occupations had brought him to Paris; and, in conformity with treaties, Henry instructed Sir Thomas Wyatt, who was then in England, to repair to the French Court, and require his extradition. Wyatt imprudently affected to consider that the affair belonged rather to the police than to the Government, and applied to the Constable for Brancetor's arrest. Montmorency was unaware of the man's connection with the Emperor. Wyatt informed him merely that an English subject who had robbed his master, and had afterwards conspired against the King, was in Paris, and requested his apprehension. He had been watched to his lodgings by a spy; and the provost-marshal was placed without difficulty at Wyatt's disposal, and was directed to attend him.

The police surrounded the house where Brancetor was to be found. It was night. The English minister entered, and found his man writing at a table. 'I told him,' Wyatt reported in his account of the story, 'that, since he would not come to visit me, I was come to seek him. His colour changed as soon as he heard my voice; and with that came in the provost, and set hand on him. I reached to the letters that he was writing, but he caught them afore me, and flung them backwards into the fire. I overthrew him, and cracked them out; but the provost got them.' Brancetor upon this declared himself the Emperor's servant. He made no attempt to escape, but charged the officer, 'that his writings and himself should be delivered into the Emperor's hands.' He took a number of papers from his pocket, which he placed in the provost's charge; and the latter, not

daring to act further in such a matter without further instructions, left a guard in the room with Wyatt and the prisoner, and went to make a report to the chancellor. 'In the mean time,' says Wyatt, 'I used all the soberness I could with Brancetor, advising him to submit himself to your Majesty; but he made the Emperor his master, and seemed to regard nothing else. Once he told me he had heard me oft times say that kings have long hands; but God, quoth he, hath longer. I asked him what length he thought that would make when God's and kings' hands were joined together; but he assured himself of the Emperor.' Presently the provost returned, and said that Brancetor was to remain in his charge till the morning, when Wyatt would hear further. Nothing more could be done with the provost; and after breakfast Wyatt had an interview with Cardinal Granvelle and the chancellor. The treaties were plain; a clause stated in the clearest language that neither France, nor Spain, nor England should give shelter to each other's traitors; but such a case as Brancetor's had as clearly not been anticipated when they were drawn; and the matter was referred to the Emperor.

Charles made no difficulty in granting an audience, which he seemed rather to court. He was extremely angry. The man had been in his service, he said, for years; and it was ill done to arrest a member of his household without paying him even the courtesy of a first application on the subject. The English Government could scarcely be serious in expecting that he

would sacrifice an old attendant in any such manner. Wyatt answered sturdily that Brancetor was his master's subject. There was clear proof, he could vouch for it on his own knowledge, that the man committed treason in Spain; and he again insisted on the treaties. The Emperor cared nothing for treaties. Treaty or no treaty, a servant of his own should pass free; 'and if he was in the Tower of London,' he said, 'he would never consent so to charge his honour and conscience.' Brancetor had come to Paris under his protection; and the French Government would never do him the dishonour of permitting the seizure of one of his personal train.

He was so displeased, and there was so much truth in what he said, that Wyatt dared not press him further; but opened ground again with a complaint which he had been instructed also to make, of the ill usage of Englishmen in Spain by the Inquisition. Charles again flashed up with imperious vehemence. 'In a loud voice,' he replied that 'the authority of the Inquisition depended not upon him. It had been established in his realm and countries for good consideration, and such as he would not break — no, not for his grandame.'

It was unreasonable, Wyatt replied, to punish men merely for their want of allegiance to Rome. They were no heretics, sacramentaries, Anabaptists. They held the Catholic faith as truly as any man.

'The King is of one opinion,' Charles replied, 'and I am of another. If your merchants come with novelties,

I cannot let the Inquisition. This is a thing that toucheth our faith.'

'What!' Wyatt said, 'the primacy of the Bishop of Rome?'

'Yea, marry,' the Emperor answered, 'shall we now come to dispute of *tibi dabo claves*. I would not alter my Inquisition. No; if I thought they would be negligent in their office, I would put them out, and put others in their rooms.'

All this was uttered with extraordinary passion and violence. Charles, who was usually so temperate, seemed to have lost his self-command. Wyatt went on to say that the Spanish preached slanders against England, and against the King especially, in their pulpits.

'As to that,' said the Emperor, 'preachers will speak against myself whenever there is cause. That cannot be let. Kings be not kings of tongues; and if men give cause to be spoken of, they will be spoken of.'

He promised at last, with rather more calmness, to inquire into the treatment of the merchants, if proper particulars were supplied to him.[1]

If alarm was really felt in the English Court at the Emperor's presence in Paris, Wyatt's report of this interview was not reassuring. Still less satisfactory was an intimation, which was not long in reaching England, that Francis or one of his ministers had betrayed to Charles a private article in the treaty of Calais, in 1532. Anticipating at that time a war with Spain,

[1] Sir Thos. Wyatt to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 219, &c.

Henry had suggested, and Francis had acquiesced in, a proposal for a partition of the Flemish provinces. The opportunity of this visit was chosen by the French to give an evidence of unmistakeable goodwill in revealing an exasperating secret.

Keeping these transactions, so ominous of evil, before our minds, let us now return to the events which were simultaneously taking place in England.

On the 11th of December the Lady Anne of Cleves was conducted, under a German escort, to Calais, where Lord Southampton and four hundred English noblemen and gentlemen were waiting to receive her, and conduct her to her future country. The 'Lion' and the 'Sweepstake' were in the harbour—the ships which two years before had fought the Flemings in the Downs. As she rode into the town the vessels' yards were manned, the rigging was decorated with flags, and a salute of a hundred and fifty guns was fired in her honour. By her expectant subjects she was splendidly welcomed; but the weather was wild; fifteen days elapsed before she could cross with ease and expedition; and meanwhile she was left to the entertainment of the lords. Southampton, in despair at her absence of accomplishments, taught her, as a last resource, to play at cards. Meantime, he wrote to advertise the King of her arrival, and thinking, as he afterwards said, that he must make the best of a matter which it had become too late to remedy, he repeated the praises which had been uttered so loudly by others of the lady's appearance. He trusted that, 'after all the

Dec. 11.

debating, the success would be to the consolation of his Majesty, and the weal of his subjects and realm.'[1]

Dec. 27. At length, on Saturday, December the 27th, as the winter twilight was closing into night, the intended Queen of England set her foot upon the shore, under the walls of Deal Castle. The cannon, freshly mounted, flashed their welcome through the darkness; the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk had waited in the fortress for her landing, and the same night conducted her to Dover. Here she rested during Sunday.

Monday, Dec. 29. The next morning she went on, in a storm, to Canterbury; and on Barham Down stood Cranmer, with five other bishops, in the wind and the rain, to welcome, as they fondly hoped, the enchantress who would break the spell of the Six Articles. She was entertained for the evening at Saint Augustine's.

Wednesday, Dec. 31. Tuesday she was at Sittingbourne. On New-year's eve she reached Rochester, to which the King was already hastening for the first sight of the lady, the fame of whose charms had been sounded in his ears so loudly. He came down in private, attended

[1] Southampton's expressions were unfortunately warm. Mentioning a conversation with the German ambassadors, in which he had spoken of his anxiety for the King's marriage, 'so as if God failed us in my Lord Prince, we might have another sprung of like descent and line to reign over us in peace,' he went on to speak to them of the other ladies whom the King might have had if he had desired; 'but hearing,' he said, 'great report of the notable virtues of my lady now with her excellent beauty, *such as I well perceive to be no less than was reported, in very deed my mind gave me to lean that way.*' These words, which might have passed as unmeaning compliment, had they been spoken merely to the lady's countrymen, he repeated in his letters to the King, who, of course, construed them by his hopes.

only by Sir Anthony Brown, the master of the horse. The interview, agitating under all circumstances, would be made additionally awkward from the fact that neither the King nor his bride could understand each other's language. He had brought with him, therefore, 'a little present,' a graceful gift of some value, to soften the embarrassment and conciliate at first sight the lovely being into whose presence he was to be introduced. The visit was meant for a surprise; the King's appearance at her lodgings was the first intimation of his intention; and the master of the horse was sent in to announce his arrival and request permission for his Highness to present himself.

Sir Anthony, aware of the nature of Henry's expectations, entered the room where Anne was sitting. He described his sensations on the unlooked-for spectacle which awaited him in moderate language, when he said, 'that he was never more dismayed in his life, lamenting in his heart to see the lady so unlike that she was reported.'[1] The graces of Anne of Cleves were moral only, not intellectual, and not personal. She was simple, quiet, modest, sensible, and conscientious; but her beauty existed only in the imagination of the painter. Her presence was ladylike; but her complexion was thick and dark: her features were coarse; her figure large, loose, and corpulent. The required permission was given. The King entered. His heart sank; his presence of mind forsook him; he was 'suddenly quite dis-

[1] Deposition of Sir Anthony Brown: STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 252, &c.

couraged and amazed' at the prospect which was opened before him. He forgot his present; he almost forgot his courtesy. He did not stay in the room 'to speak twenty words.' He would not even stay in Rochester. 'Very sad and pensive,' says Brown, he entered his barge and hurried back to Greenwich, anxious only to escape, while escape was possible, from the unwelcome neighbourhood. Unwilling to marry at all, he had yielded only to the pressure of a general desire. He had been deceived by untrue representations, and had permitted a foreign princess to be brought into the realm; and now, as fastidious in his tastes as he was often little scrupulous in his expression of them, he fouud himself on the edge of a connection the very thought of which was revolting.[1] It was a cruel fortune which imposed on Henry VIII., in addition to his other burdens, the labour of finding heirs to strengthen the succession. He 'lamented the fate of princes to be in matters of marriage of far worse sort than the condition of poor men.' 'Princes take,' he said, 'as is brought them by others, and poor men be commonly at their own choice.'[2]

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[1] Those who insist that Henry was a licentious person, must explain how it was that, neither in the three years which had elapsed since the death of Jane Seymour, nor during the more trying period which followed, do we hear a word of mistresses, intrigues, or questionable or criminal connections of any kind. The mistresses of princes are usually visible when they exist; the mistresses, for instance, of Francis I., of Charles V., of James of Scotland. There is a difficulty in this which should be admitted, if it cannot be explained.

[2] Deposition of Sir Anthony Denny: STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. ii.

Cromwell, who knew better than others knew the true nature of the King's adventure, January. was waiting nervously at Greenwich for the result of the experiment. He presented himself on the King's appearance, and asked him 'how he liked the Lady Anne?' The abrupt answer confirmed his fears. 'Nothing so well as she was spoken of,' the King said. 'If I had known as much before as I know now, she should never have come into the realm.' 'But what remedy?' he added in despondency.[1] The German alliance was already shaking at its base: the Court was agitated and alarmed; the King was miserable. Cromwell, to whom the blame was mainly due, endeavoured for a moment to shrink from his responsibility, and accused Southampton of having encouraged false hopes in his letters from Calais. Southampton answered fairly that the fault did not rest with him. He had been sent to bring the Queen into England, and it was not his place to 'dispraise her appearance.' 'The matter being so far gone,' he had supposed his duty was to make the best of it.[2]

Among these recriminations passed the night of Friday, while Charles V. was just Friday, January 2. commencing his triumphal progress through France. The day following, the innocent occasion of the confusion came on to Greenwich. The marriage had been arranged for the Sunday after. The prospects were altogether dark, and closer inspection confirmed the

[1] Cromwell to the King: BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 109.

[2] Deposition of the Earl of Southampton: STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. ii.

worst apprehensions. The ladies of the Court were no less shocked than their husbands. The unfortuuate princess was not only unsightly, but she had 'displeasant airs' about her, and Lady Brown imparted to Sir Anthony 'how she saw in the Queen such fashions, and manner of bringing up so gross, that she thought the King would never love her.' Henry met her on the stairs when her barge arrived. He conducted her to her apartments, and on the way Cromwell saw her with his own eyes. The sovereign and the minister then retired together, and the just displeasure became visible. 'How say you, my lord?' the King said. 'Is it not as I told you? Say what they will, she is nothing fair. The personage is well and seemly, but nothing else.' Cromwell attempted faintly to soothe him by suggesting that she had 'a queenly manner.' The King agreed to that;[1] but the recommendation was insufficient to overcome the repugnance which he had conceived; and he could resolve on nothing. A frail fibre of hope offered itself in the story of the precontract with the Count of Lorraine. Henry caught at it to postpone the marriage for two days; and on the Sunday morning he sent for the German suite who had attended the princess, and requested to see the papers connected with the Lorraine treaty. Astonished and unprepared, they requested time to consider. The following morning they had an interview with the council, when they stated that, never

Saturday, January 3.

Sunday, January 4.

[1] Questions to be asked of the Lord Cromwell: *MS. Cotton. Titus*, B 1, 418.

anticipating any such demand, they could not possibly comply with it on the instant; but the engagement had been nothing. The instrument which they had brought with them declared the Princess free from all ties whatever. If the King really required the whole body of the documents, they would send to Cleves for them; but, in the mean time, they trusted he would not refuse to accept their solemn assurances.

Cromwell carried the answer to Henry; Monday, January 5. and it was miserably unwelcome. 'I have been ill-handled,' he said. 'If it were not that she is come so far into England, and for fear of making a ruffle in the world, and *driving her brother into the Emperor's and French King's hands, now being together*, I would never have her. But now it is too far gone; wherefore I am sorry.'[1] As a last pretext for hesitation he sent to Anne herself to desire a protest from her that she was free from contracts; a proof of backwardness on the side of the King might, perhaps, provoke a corresponding unwillingness. But the impassive constitution of the lady would have been proof against a stronger hint. The protest was drawn and signed with instant readiness. 'Is there no remedy,' Henry exclaimed, 'but that I must needs, against my will, put my neck into this yoke?' There was none. It was

[1] Compare Cromwell's Letter to the King from the Tower, BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 109, with Questions to be asked of the Lord Cromwell: *MS. Cotton. Titus*, B 1, 418. Wyatt's report of his interview and the Emperor's language could not have arrived till the week after. But the fact of Charles's arrival with Brancetor in his train, was already known and was sufficiently alarming.

inevitable. The conference at Paris lay before him like a thunder-cloud. The divorce of Catherine and the execution of Anne Boleyn had already created sufficient scandal in Europe. At such a moment he durst not pass an affront upon the Germans, which might drive them also into a compromise with his other enemies. He gathered up his resolution. As the thing was to be done, it might be done at once; delay would not make the bitter dose less unpalatable; and the day remained fixed for the date of its first postponement—Tuesday, the 6th of January. As he was preparing for the sacrifice he called Cromwell to him in the chamber of presence: 'My lord,' he said openly, 'if it were not to satisfy the world and my realm, I would not do that I must do this day for none earthly thing.'

Tuesday, January 6.

The marriage was solemnized. A last chance remained to the privy seal and to the eager prelates who had trembled in the storm on Barham Down, that the affection which could not precede the ceremony might perhaps follow it. But the tide had turned against the Reformers; and their contrivances to stem the current were not of the sort which could be allowed to prosper. Dislike was confirmed into rooted aversion. The instinct with which the King recoiled from Anne settled into a defined resolution. He was personally kind to her. His provocations did not tempt him into discourtesy; but, although she shared his bed, necessity and inclination alike limited the companionship to a form; and Henry lamented to Cromwell, who had been the cause of the calamity, that 'surely he would never

have any more children for the comfort of the realm.'[1]

The union of France and the Empire, which had obliged the accomplishment of this unlucky connection, meanwhile prevented, so long as it continued, either an open *fracas* or an alteration in the policy of the kingdom. The relations of the King and Queen were known only to a few of the council. Cromwell continued in power, and the Protestants remained in security. The excitement which had been created in London by the persecution of Dr Watts was kept alive by a controversy[2] between the Bishop of Winchester and three of the Lutheran preachers—Dr Barnes, for ever unwisely prominent; the Vicar of Stepney, who had shuffled over his recantation; and Garrett, the same who had been in danger of the stake at Oxford for selling Testaments, and had since been a chaplain of Latimer. It is difficult to exaggerate the audacity with which the orators of the moving party trespassed on the patience of the laity. The disputes, which had been slightly turned out of their channel by the Six Articles, were running now on justification—a sufficient subject, however, to give scope for differences, and for the full enunciation of the Lutheran gospel. The magistrates in the coun-

[1] Cromwell to the King: BURNET'S *Collectanea*. The morning after his marriage, and on subsequent occasions, the King made certain depositions to his physicians and to members of the council, which I invite no one to study except under distinct historical obligations. The facts are of great importance. But discomfort made Henry unjust; and when violently irritated he was not careful of his expressions. — See Documents relating to the Marriage with Anne of Cleves: STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. ii.

[2] Hall.

try attempted to keep order and enforce the law; but, when they imprisoned a heretic, they found themselves rebuked and menaced by the privy seal. Their prison doors were opened, they were exposed to vexatious suits for loss or injury to the property of the discharged offenders, and their authority and persons were treated with disrespect and contumely.[1]

February.

[1] The discharge of heretics from prison by an undue interference formed one of the most violent accusations against Cromwell. He was, perhaps, held responsible for the general pardon in the summer of 1539. The following letter, however, shows something of his own immediate conduct, and of the confidence with which the Protestants looked to him.

'God save the King.

'Thanks immortal from the Father of Heaven unto your most prudent and honourable lordship, for your mercy, and pity, and great charity that your honourable lordship has had on your poor and true orator Henry King, that almost was in prison a whole year, rather of pure malice and false suspicion than of any just offence committed by your said orator, to be so long in prison without any mercy, pity, or succour of meat and drink, and all your said orator's goods taken from him. Moreover, whereas your said orator did of late receive a letter from your most honourable lordship by the hands of the Bishop of Worcester, that your said orator should receive again such goods as was wrongfully taken from your said orator of Mr George Blunt (the committing magistrate apparently); thereon your said orator went unto the said George Blunt with your most gentle letter, to ask such poor goods as the said George Blunt did detain from your poor orator: and so with great pain and much entreating your said orator, within the space of three weeks, got some part of his goods, but the other part he cannot get. Therefore, except now your most honourable lordship, for Jesus sake, do tender and consider with the eye of pity and mercy the long imprisonment, the extreme poverty of your said orator, your said orator is clean undone in this world. For where your said orator had money, and was full determined to send for his capacity, all is spent in prison, and more. Therefore, in fond humility your said orator meekly, with all obedience, puts himself wholly into the hands of your honourable lordship, desiring you to help your orator to some succour and living now in his extreme necessity and need; the which is

The Reformers had outshot their healthy growth. They required to be toned down by renewed persecution into that good sense and severity of mind without which religion is but as idle and unprofitable a folly as worldly excitement.

March. In London, on the first Sunday in Lent, the Bishop of Winchester preached on the now prominent topic at Paul's Cross: 'A very Popish sermon,' says Traheron, one of the English correspondents of Bullinger, 'and much to the discontent of the people.'[1] To the discontent it may have been of many, but not to the discontent of the ten thousand citizens who had designed the procession to Lambeth. The Sunday following, the same pulpit was occupied by Barnes, who, calling Gardiner a fighting-cock, and himself another, challenged the Bishop to trim his spurs for a battle.[2] He taunted his adversary with concealed Romanism. Like the judges at Fouquier Tinville's tribunal, whose test of loyalty to the Republic was the question what the accused had done to be hanged on the restoration of the monarchy, Barnes said that, if he and the Bishop of Winchester were at Rome together, much money would not save his life, but for the Bishop there

not only put out of his house, but also all his goods almost spent in prison, so that now the weary life of your said orator stands only in your discretion. Therefore, *exaudi preces servi tui*, and Almighty God increase your most honourable lordship in virtue and favour as he did merciful Joseph to his high honour. Amen. Your unfeigned and true orator *ut supra*. Beatus qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem. In die malâ liberabit eum Dominus.'—*MS. State Paper Office*, vol. ix. first series.

[1] Traheron to Bullinger: *Original Letters*, p. 316; HALL, p. 837.

[2] FOXE, vol. v. p. 431.

was no fear—a little entreatance would purchase favour enough for him.[1] From these specimens we may conjecture the character of the sermon; and, from Traheron's delight with it, we may gather equally the imprudent exultation of the Protestants.[2] Gardiner complained to the King. He had a fair cause, and was favourably listened to. Henry sent for Barnes, and examined him in a private audience. The questions of the day were opened.—Merit, works, faith, free-will, grace of congruity, were each discussed—once mystic words of power, able, like the writing on the seal of Solomon, to convulse the world, now mere innocent sounds, which the languid but still eager lips of a dying controversy breathe in vain.

Barnes, too proud of his supposed abilities to understand the disposition with which he was dealing, told the King, in an excess of unwisdom, that he would submit himself to him.

Henry was more than angry: 'Yield not to me,' he said; 'I am a mortal man.' He rose as he spoke, and turning to the sacrament, which stood on a private altar in the room, and taking off his bonnet—'Yonder is the Master of us all,' he said; 'yield in truth to Him; otherwise submit yourself not to me.' Barnes was commanded, with Garrett and Jerome, to make a public acknowledgment of his errors; and to apologize espe-

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[1] HALL, p. 837.

[2] 'The Bishop was ably answered by Dr Barnes on the following Lord's-day, with the most gratifying and all but universal applause.'—Traheron to Bullinger: *Original Letters*, p. 317.

cially for his insolent language to Gardiner. It has been already seen how Jerome could act in such a position. An admirer of these men, in relating their conduct on the present occasion, declared, as if it was something to their credit, 'how gaily they handled the matter, both to satisfy the recantation and also, in the same sermon, to utter out the truth, that it might spread without let of the world.

Like giddy night-moths, they were flitting round the fire which would soon devour them.

In April, Parliament was to meet—the same Parliament which had passed the Six Articles Bill with acclamation. It was to be seen in what temper they would endure the suspension of their favourite measure. The bearing of the Parliament, was, however, for the moment, of comparative indifference. The King and his ministers were occupied with other matters too seriously to be able to attend to it. A dispute had arisen between the Emperor and the Duke of Cleves, on the duchy of Gueldres, to which Charles threatened to assert his right by force; and, galling as Henry found his marriage, the alliance in which it had involved him, its only present recommendation, was too useful to be neglected. The treatment of English residents in Spain, the open patronage of Brancetor, and the haughty and even insolent language which had been used to Wyatt, could not be passed over in silence, whatever might be the consequences; and, with the support of Germany, he believed that he might now, perhaps, repay the Emperor for the alarms and

Feb. 3. anxieties of years. After staying a few days in Paris, Charles had gone on to Brussels. On the receipt of Wyatt's despatch with the account of his first interview, the King instructed him to require in reply the immediate surrender of the English traitor; to insist that the proceedings of the Inquisition should be redressed and punished; and to signify, at the same time, that the English Government desired to mediate between himself and the King's brother-in-law. Nor was the imperiousness of the message to be softened in the manner of delivery. More than once Henry had implied that Charles was under obligations to England for the Empire. Wyatt was commanded to allude pointedly to these and other wounding memories, and particularly, and with marked emphasis, to make use of the word 'ingratitude.' The object was, perhaps, to show that Henry was not afraid of him; perhaps to express a real indignation which there was no longer reason to conceal.

The directions were obeyed; and Wyatt's English haughtiness was likely to have fulfilled them to the letter. The effect was magical. The Emperor started, changed colour, hesitated, and then burst in anger. 'It is too much,' he said, 'to use the term ingrate to me. The inferior may be ingrate to the greater. The term is scant sufferable between like.' Perhaps, he added, as Wyatt was speaking in a foreign language, the ambassador might have used a word which he imperfectly comprehended. Wyatt assured him placidly that there was no error: the word was in his instructions, and its

meaning perfectly understood. 'The King took it so.' 'Kings' opinions are not always the best,' Charles replied. 'I cannot tell, sir,' the ambassador answered, 'what ye mean by that; but if ye think to note the King my master of anything that should touch him, I assure you he is a prince to give reason to God and the world sufficient in his opinions.' Leaving the word as it stood, he required an answer to the material point.

If Henry was indifferent to a quarrel, the Emperor seemed to be equally willing; Wyatt gathered from his manner, either that he was careless of consequences, or that he desired to provoke the English to strike the first blow. He answered as before, that Brancetor had committed no crime that he knew of. If the King of England would be more explicit in his accusations, he would consider them. His dispute with the Duke of Cleves he intended to settle by himself, and would allow of no interference; and as to the merchants, he had rather they should never visit his countries at all, than visit them to carry thither their heresy.[1] Irritation is a passion which it is seldom politic to excite; and a message like that of Wyatt had been better undelivered, unless no doubt existed of being able to support it by force. A fixed idea in Cromwell's mind, which we trace in all his correspondence, was the impossibility of a genuine coalition between Charles and Francis. Either misled by these impressions, or deceived by rumours, Henry seems to have been acting,

[1] Wyatt to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 240, &c.

not only in a reliance on the Germans, but in a belief that the Emperor's visit to Paris had closed less agreeably than it had opened, that the Milan quarrel had revived, and that the hasty partnership already threatened a dissolution. Some expectation of the kind he had unquestionably formed, for, on the arrival of Wyatt's letter with the Emperor's answer, he despatched the Duke of Norfolk on a mission into France, which, if successful, would have produced a singular revulsion in Europe. Francis was to be asked frankly how the Italian question stood. If the Emperor was dealing in good faith with him, or if he was himself satisfied, nothing more need be desired; if, on the contrary, he felt himself 'hobbled with a vain hope,' there was now an opportunity for him to take fortune prisoner, to place his highest wishes within his grasp, and revenge Pavia, and his own and his children's captivity. The ingratitude story was to be repeated, with Charles's overbearing indignation; redress for the open and iniquitous oppression of English subjects had been absolutely refused; and the Emperor's manner could be interpreted only as bearing out what had long been suspected of him, that he 'aspired to bring Christendom to a monarchy;' that 'he thought himself superior to all kings,' and, 'by little and little,' would work his way to universal empire. His insolence might be punished, and all dangers of such a kind for ever terminated, at the present juncture. A league was in process of formation, for mutual defence, between the King of England, the Duke of Cleves, the

March.

Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave, and other princes of the Empire. Let Francis join them, and 'they would have the Emperor in such a pitfall, that percase it might be their chance to have him prisoner at their pleasure, his being so environed with them, and having no way to start.'[1]

The temptation was so well adjusted to the temperament of Francis that it seemed as if he felt an excuse necessary to explain his declining the combination. The French chancellor told Norfolk that his master was growing old, and that war had lost its charm for him. But, in fact, the proposal was based upon a blunder for which Cromwell's despair was probably responsible. Francis, at the moment, was under the influence of the Cardinal of Ferrara, who had come from Rome on a crusading expedition; and, so far from then desiring to quarrel with Charles, he simply communicated to him Henry's suggestions; while the Queen of Navarre gave a warning to Norfolk that, if the Anglo-German league assumed an organized form, it would be followed by an

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[1] Henry VIII. to the Duke of Norfolk: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 245, &c. Henry held out a further inducement. 'If the Duke shall see the French King persevere in his good mind and affection towards the King's Highness, he shall yet further of himself say that his opinion is, and in his mind he thinketh undoubtedly that in such a case as that a new strait amity might now be made between the French King and the King his master, his Majesty would be content to remit unto him the one half of his debt to his Highness, the sum whereof is very great; and also the one half of the pensions for term of the said French King's life, so as it may please him to declare what honourable reciproque he would be content to offer again to his Majesty.'—*State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 251.

alliance as close and as dangerous between France and the Empire.[1]

April. Cromwell had again failed; and another and a worse misadventure followed. The German princes, for whose sake the privy seal had incurred his present danger, had their own sense of prudence, and were reluctant to quarrel with the Emperor, so long as it was possible to escape. Experience had taught Charles the art of trifling with their credulity, and he flattered them with a hope that from them he would accept a mediation in behalf of the Duke of Cleves, which he had rejected so scornfully when offered by England.

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[1] *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 318. The Queen of Navarre, who was constant to the English interests, communicated to the secretary of Sir John Wallop (the resident minister at Paris), an account of a conversation between herself and the Papal nuntio.

Ferrara had prayed her 'to help and put her good hand and word that the French King might join the Emperor and his master for the wars against the Almayns and the King of England, which King was but a man lost and cast away.'

'Why, M. l'Ambassadeur,' the Queen answered, 'what mean you by that? how and after what sort do you take the King of England?' 'Marry,' quoth he, 'for a heretic and a Lutheryan. Moreover, he doth make himself head of the Church.' 'Do you say so?' quoth she. 'Now I would to God that your master, the Emperor, and we here, did live after so good and godly a sort as he and his doth.' The nuntio answered, 'the King had pulled down the abbeys,' 'trusting by the help of God it should be reformed or it were long.' She told him that were easier to say than to do. England had had time to prepare, and to transport an army across the Channel was a difficult affair. Ferrara said, 'It could be landed in Scotland.' 'The King of Scotland,' she replied, 'would not stir without permission from France;' and then (if her account was true) she poured out a panegyric upon the Reformation in England, and spoke out plainly on the necessity of the same thing in the Church of Rome.—*State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 289, &c.

Thus was Henry left alone, having been betrayed into an attitude which he was unable to support, and deserted by the allies for whom he had entangled himself in a marriage which he detested. Well might his confidence have been shaken in the minister whose fortune and whose sagacity had failed together. Driven forward by the necessity of success or destruction, Cromwell was, at the same time, precipitating the crisis in England. Gardiner, Tunstall, and Sampson the Bishop of Chichester, were his three chief antagonists. In April, Sampson was sent to the Tower, on a charge of having relieved 'certain traitorous persons' who had denied the King's supremacy.[1] The two others, it is likely, would

[1] HALL, p. 839. The case broke down, and Sampson was afterwards restored to favour; but his escape was narrow. Sir Ralph Sadler, writing to Cromwell, said, 'I declared to the King's Majesty how the Bishop of Chichester was committed to ward to the Tower, and what answer he made to such things as were laid to his charge, which in effect was a plain denial of the chief points that touched him. His Majesty said little thereto, but that he liked him and the matter much the worse because he denied it, seeing his Majesty perceived by the examinations there were witnesses enough to condemn him in that point.'—*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 627.

Marillac saw that a crisis was coming, and that either Cromwell or the Bishop would fall. On the 1st of June he wrote to Francis:—'The Bishop of Chichester and the Dean of the Chapel Royal, whom your Majesty may remember as ambassador at your Court, have been arrested on a charge of high treason; and with them one of the King's chaplains, a man of reputation for learning. This last is said to have been in correspondence with Rome in the times of the late marquis. The rest of the bishops are in terror. They are afraid that they also may be made out guilty; and their fate will be certain. The religious strife has become so bitter that each party will destroy their antagonists if they can. There will be prisoners enough between them by and by; and when Parliament will now end, it is impossible to say.'

soon have followed: the Bishop of Chichester accused them of having been the cause of his own misconduct, to such extent as he admitted himself to have erred;[1] and although Tunstall equivocated, he at least would not have escaped imprisonment, had the Privy Seal remained in power, if imprisonment had been the limit of his sufferings.[2] To the eyes of the world, the destroyer of the monasteries, the 'hammer of the monks,' remained absolute as ever. No cloud, as yet, was visible in the clear sky of his prosperity; when the moment came, he fell suddenly, as if struck by lightning, on the very height and pinnacle of his power. If events had been long working towards the catastrophe, it was none the less abrupt, surprising, unlooked for.

April 12. On the 12th of April, amidst failure abroad and increased discontent at home, Parliament

[1] The Bishop of Chichester to Cromwell: STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 381.

[2] Another instance of Tunstall's underhand dealing had come to light. When he accepted the oath of supremacy, and agreed to the divorce of Queen Catherine, he entered a private protest in the Register Book of Durham, which was afterwards cut out by his chancellor. Christopher Chator, whose curious depositions I have more than once quoted, mentions this piece of evasion, and adds a further feature of some interest. Relating a conversation which he had held with a man called Craye, Chator says, 'We had in communication the Bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More attainted of treason. Craye said to me he marvelled that they were put to death for such small trespasses; to whom I answered that their foolish conscience was so to die. Then I shewed him of one Burton, my Lord of Durham's servant, that told me he came to London when the Bishop of Rochester and Thomas More were endangered, and the said More asked Burton, 'Will not thy master come to us and be as we are?' and he said he could not tell. Then said More, 'If he do, no force, for if he live he may do more good than to die with us.''—*Rolls House MS.* first series.

assembled. After the ordinary address from the chancellor, Cromwell rose to speak a few words on the state of the kingdom.

'The King's Majesty,' he said, 'knowing that concord is the only sure and true bond of security in the commonwealth, knowing that if the head and all the members of the body corporate agree in one, there will be wanting nothing to the perfect health of the State, has therefore sought, prized, and desired concord beyond all other things. With no little distress, therefore, he learns that there are certain persons who make it their business to create strife and controversy; that in the midst of the good seed tares also are growing up to choke the harvest. The rashness and carnal license of some, the inveterate corruption and obstinate superstition of others, have caused disputes which have done hurt to the souls of pious Christians. The names of Papist and heretic are bandied to and fro. The Holy Word of God, which his Highness, of his great clemency, has permitted to be read in the vulgar tongue, for the comfort and edification of his people—this treasure of all sacred things—is abused, and made a servant of errour or idolatry; and such is the tumult of opinion, that his Highness ill knows how to bear it. His purpose is to shew no favour to extremes on either side. He professes the sincere faith of the Gospel, as becomes a Christian prince, declining neither to the right hand nor to the left, but setting before his eyes the pure Word of God as his only mark and guide. On this Word his princely mind is fixed; on this Word he de-

pends for his sole support; and with all his might his Majesty will labour that errour shall be taken away, and true doctrines be taught to his people, modelled by the rule of the Gospel. Of forms, ceremonies, and traditions he will have the reasonable use distinguished from the foolish and idolatrous use. He will have all impiety, all superstition, abolished and put away. And, finally, he will have his subjects cease from their irreverent handling of God's book. Those who have offended against the faith and the laws shall suffer the punishment by the laws appointed; and his first and last prayer is for the prevailing of Christ—the prevailing of the Word of Christ—the prevailing of the truth.' [1]

A general intimation of intentions, which being so stated every one would approve, passed quietly, and the subject dropped. It is the peculiarity of discourses on theological subjects, that they are delivered and they are heard under an impression, both on the part of the speaker and of his audience, that each is in possession of the only reasonable and moderate truth; and so long as particulars are avoided, moderation is praised, and all men consent to praise it—excess is condemned, and all agree in the condemnation. Five days after, a public mark of the King's approbation was bestowed on Cromwell, who was created Earl of Essex; and the ordinary legislation commenced quietly. The complaints against the Statute of Uses were met by a measure which silently

[1] *Lords Journals*, 32 Henry VIII.

divided the leading root of the feudal system. Persons holding lands by military tenure were allowed to dispose of two-thirds in their wills, as they pleased. Lands held under any other conditions might be bequeathed absolutely, without condition or restriction.[1] To prevent disputes on titles, and to clear such confusion of claims as had been left remaining by the Uses Act, sixty years' possession of property was declared sufficient to constitute a valid right; and no claim might be pressed which rested on pretensions of an older date.[2] The Privy Seal's hand is legible in several Acts abridging ecclesiastical privileges, and restoring monks, who had been dead in law, to some part of their rights as human beings. The suppression of the religious houses had covered England with vagrant priests, who, though pensioned, were tempted by idleness, and immunity from punishment, into crimes. If convicted of felony, and admitted 'to their clergy,' such persons were in future to be burnt in the hand.[3] A bill in the preceding year had relieved them from their vows of poverty; they were permitted to buy, inherit, or otherwise occupy property.

May.

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[1] 32 Henry VIII. cap. 2.

[2] Ibid.

[3] 32 Henry VIII. cap. 3. 'Many goes oft begging,' 'and it causeth much robbing.'—Deposition of Christopher Chator. Here is a special picture of one of these vagabonds. Gregory Cromwell, writing to his father from Lewes, says, 'The day of making hereof came before us a fellow called John Dancy, being apparelled in a frieze coat, a pair of black hose, with fustian slops, having also a sword, a buckler, and a dagger; being a man of such port, fashion, and behaviour that we at first took him only for a vagabond, until such time as he, being examined, confessed himself to have been heretofore a priest, and sometime a monk of this monastery.'—*MS. State Paper Office*, second series, vol. vii.

They were freed by dissolution from obedience to their superiors, and the reflection naturally followed, that the justice which had dispensed with two vows, would dispense with the third, and that a permission to marry, in spite of the Six Articles, would soon necessarily follow. Further inroads were made also upon the sanctuaries. Institutions which had worn so deep a groove in the habits of men could not be at once put away; nor, while the letter of the law continued so sanguinary, was it tolerable to remove wholly the correctives which had checked its action, and provide no substitute. The last objection was not perhaps considered a serious one; but prejudice and instinct survived, as a safeguard of humanity. The protection of sanctuary was withdrawn for the more flagrant felonies, for murder, rape, robbery, arson, and sacrilege. Churches and churchyards continued to protect inferior offenders; and seven towns—Wells, Westminster, Manchester, Northampton, York, Derby, and Launceston—retained the same privileges, until, finding that their exemption only converted them into nests of crime, they petitioned of themselves for desecration. Some other regulations were also introduced into the system. Persons taking refuge in a church were allowed to remain not longer than forty days; at the end of which they were to abjure before the coroner and leave the country, or were to be consigned for life to one of the specified towns, where they were to be daily inspected by the governor, and if absent three days consecutively—no very barbarous con-

dition—were to forfeit their security.[1] An Act was passed for the better maintenance of the navy; and next, bringing inevitable ill-will with it to the unpopular minister, appeared the standard English grievance, a Money Bill. In the preceding session the Duke of Norfolk had laid before the Lords a statement of the extraordinary expenses which had been cast upon the Crown, and of the inadequacy of the revenue.[2] Twelve months' notice had been given, that the Houses might consider at their leisure the demand which was likely to be made upon them. It appeared in a bill introduced on the 3rd of May, requiring a subsidy of four fifteenths and four tenths, the payments to be spread over a period of four years.[3] May 3.

The occasion of a demand of money was always carefully stated; the preamble set forth that the country had prospered and had lived in wealth, comfort, and peace under the King, for thirty-one years. His Highness, in the wisdom which God had given him, had brought his subjects out of blindness and ignorance to the know-

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[1] 32 Henry VIII. cap. 12.

[2] *Lords Journals*, 31 Henry VIII.

[3] It was so difficult to calculate at the time the amount likely to be raised by this method of taxation, or the degree in which it would press, that it is impossible at present even to guess reasonably on either of these points. In 1545, two fifteenths and tenths which were granted by Parliament are described as extending to 'a right small sum of money,' and a five per cent. income tax was in consequence added.—37 Henry VIII. cap. 25. Aliens and clergy generally paid double, and on the present occasion the latter granted four shillings in the pound on their incomes, to be paid in two years, or a direct annual tax of ten per cent.—32 Henry VIII. cap. 23. But all estimates based on conjecture ought to be avoided.

ledge of God and his holy Word. He had shaken off the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome, by whose subtle devices large sums had been annually drained out of the realm. But in doing this he had been forced to contend against insurrections at home and the peril of invasion from the powers of the Continent. He had built a navy and furnished it. He had raised fortresses, laid out harbours, established permanent garrisons in dangerous places, with arsenals for arms and all kinds of military stores. Ireland after an arduous struggle was at length reduced to obedience; but the conquest was maintained at a great and continuing cost. To meet this necessary outlay, no regular provision existed; and the King threw himself confidently upon his subjects, with an assurance that they would not refuse to bear their share of the burden.

The journals throw no light upon the debate, if debate there was. The required sum was voted; we know no more.[1] The sand in Cromwell's hour-glass was almost run. Once more, and conspicuously, his spirit can be seen in a bill of attainder against four priests, three of whom, Abel, Fetherston, and Powell, had been attached to the household of Queen Catherine, and had lingered in the Tower, in resolute denial of the supremacy; the fourth, Robert Cook, of Doncaster, 'had adhered to the late arrogant traitor Robert Aske.' In companionship with them was a woman, Margaret Tyrrell, who had refused to acknowledge Prince Edward

[1] 32 Henry VIII. cap. 50.

to be heir to the crown. These five were declared by Act of Parliament guilty of high treason; their trial was dispensed with; they were sentenced to death, and the bill was passed without a dissentient voice.[1] This was on the first of June.[2] It was the same week in which the Tower seemed likely to be the destiny of Tunstall and Gardiner; the struggling parties had reached the crisis when one or the other must fall.[3]

June.

[1] 32 Henry VIII. cap. 57. Unprinted *Rolls House MS.*

[2] 'Hodie lecta est Billa attincturæ Ricardi Fetherstone, etc.; et communi omnium Procerum assensu nemine discrepante expedita.'—*Lords Journals*, 32 Henry VIII.

[3] The religious condition of the country is well described by Marillac in a letter, written on the 1st of June, to Montmorency:—

'My Lord,—A few days since the Dean of the Chapel Royal and the Bishop of Chichester were conducting the service in state at Westminster Abbey, when they were arrested, and sent to the Tower for treason, and before night their goods were seized and confiscated.

'Lord Cromwell, I hear from a credible quarter, says that other bishops are about to follow. I did not learn their names, but we may presume them to be those who lately shook Cromwell's credit, and brought him nearly to his ruin. However that be, things are now at a pass when either Cromwell's party or the Bishop of Winchester's party must fall; and although they are both high in favour and authority with the King their master, fortune will most probably turn in favour of Cromwell. The Dean of the Chapel, the Bishop of Winchester's best friend, is struck down; the Archbishop of Canterbury, his greatest adversary, has been deputed to preach in the Bishop's place at St Paul's, and has begun to argue against his doctrines in the same pulpit where the Bishop preached in Lent. Doctor Barnes, who was lately imprisoned, is likely to be soon released at the intercession of the Germans; and another doctor, named Latimer, who last year surrendered his See rather than subscribe to the Six Articles, is recalled, and will shortly be replaced upon the bench.

'So great is the inconstancy here, and so lightly opinion changes.

'The state of religion continues most unfortunate. The bishops are divided, and hate one another. The people know not what to believe; for those who are inclined to the reformed views are called heretics; those who adhere to the old faith are charged with Papistry and trea-

Nine days more were allowed to pass; on the tenth the blow descended.

But the story must again go back for a few steps, to make all movements clear.

May. From the day of the King's marriage 'he was in a manner weary of his life.'[1] The public policy of the connection threatened to be a failure. It was useless abroad, it was eminently unpopular at home; while the purpose for which the country had burdened him with a wife was entirely hopeless.[2] To the Queen herself he was kindly distant; but, like most men who have not been taught in early life to endure inconvenience, he brooded in secret over his misfortune, and chafed the wound by being unable to forget it. The documents relating to the pre-contract were not sent; his vexation converted a shadow into a reality.

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son. They ought to dissolve Parliament, and find some middle way for the country to follow. But as far as I can see, it will be as with the Diets in Germany, and the confusion, instead of being pacified, will grow worse and worse.'

[1] Stow.

[2] The Ladies Rutland, Rochford, and Edgecombe, all being together with the Queen, 'they wished her Grace with child, and she answered and said she knew well she was not with child. My Lady Edgecombe said, 'How is it possible for your Grace to know that?' 'I know it well I am not,' said she. Then said my Lady Edgecombe, 'I think your Grace is a maid still.' With that she laughed; 'How can I be a maid,' said she, 'and sleep every night with the King? When he comes to bed he kisses me, and takes me by the hand, and bids me 'Good night, sweetheart;' and in the morning kisses me, and bids me 'Farewell, darling.' Is not this enough?' Then said my Lady Rutland, 'Madame, there must be more than this, or it will be long or we have a Duke of York, which all this realm most desireth.' 'Nay,' said the Queen, 'I am contented I know no more.'—Deposition on the Marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleves: STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 462.

He grew superstitious about his repugnance, which he regarded as an instinct forbidding him to do an unlawful thing. 'I have done as much to move the consent of my heart and mind as ever man did,' he said to Cromwell, 'but without success.'[1] 'I think before God,' he declared another time, 'she has never been my lawful wife.'[2] The wretched relations continued without improvement till the 9th of May. On that day a royal circular was addressed to every member of the privy council, requiring them to attend the King's presence, 'for the treaty of such great and weighty matters as whereupon doth consist the surety of his Highness's person, the preservation of his honour, and the tranquillity and quietness of themselves and all other his loving and faithful subjects.'[3] It may be conjectured that the King had at this time resolved to open his situation for discussion. No other matter can be ascertained to have existed at the time worthy of language so serious. Yet he must have changed his purpose. For three weeks longer the secret was preserved, and his course was still undecided. On the evening of the 6th or 7th of June Sir Thomas Wriothesley repaired to Cromwell's house with the ordinary reports of public business. He found the minister alone in a gallery, leaning against a window. 'Were there any news abroad?' Cromwell asked. Wriothesley said he knew of none.

June.

[1] STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 556.

[2] Cromwell to the King: BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 109.

[3] The Letter sent to Cromwell is printed in *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 628.

'There is something,' the minister said, 'which troubles me. The King loves not the Queen, nor ever has from the beginning; insomuch as I think assuredly she is yet as good a maid for him as she was when she came to England.' 'Marry, sir,' Wriothesley answered, 'I am right sorry that his Majesty should be so troubled. For God's sake, devise how his Grace may be relieved by one way or the other.' 'Yes,' Cromwell said, 'but what and how?' Wriothesley said he could not tell on the moment; but standing the case as it did, he thought some way might be found. 'Well, well,' answered the minister, 'it is a great matter.' The conversation ended; and Wriothesley left him for the night.

'The next day following,' Wriothesley deposed, 'having occasion eftsoons for business to repair unto him, I chanced to say, 'Sir, I have thought somewhat of the matter you told me, and I find it a great matter. But, sir, it can be made better than it is. For God's sake, devise for the relief of the King; for if he remain in this grief and trouble, we shall all one day smart for it. If his Grace be quiet we shall all have our parts with him.' 'It is true,' quoth he; 'but I tell you it is a great matter.' 'Marry,' quoth I, 'I grant; but let the remedy be searched for.' 'Well,' quoth he; and thus brake off from me.'[1]

Wriothesley's remedy was of course a divorce. It could be nothing else. Yet, was it not a remedy worse than any possible disorder? Cromwell, indeed, knew himself responsible. He it was who, with open eyes, had

[1] STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 459.

led the King into his embarrassment. Yet, was a second divorce to give mortal affront to the Lutherans, as the first had done to the Catholics? Was another marriage scandal to taint a movement which had already furnished too much of such material to insolence? What a triumph to the Pope! What a triumph to the Emperor! How would his own elaborate policy crumble to ruins! It was a great matter indeed to Cromwell.

But how would the whisper of the word sound in the ears of the English reactionaries? What would the clergy think of it, in whose, only not unanimous, convictions the German alliance had been from the first a pollution? What would the Parliament think of it, who had seen the fruit of their theological labours so cunningly snatched from them? What would the Anglican bishops think of it, who had found themselves insulted from the pulpit, from behind the shield of the hateful connection—with one of their body already in the Tower, and the same danger hanging before them all? Or the laity generally—the wool-growers of the counties, the merchants of the cities, the taxpayers charged with the new subsidy, who, in the connection with the house of Cleves, saw a fresh cause of quarrel with the Emperor and the ruin of the trade with Flanders; what, to all these, in the heat and rage of party, must have seemed the natural remedy for the King's difficulty? Let Queen Catherine and her friends be avenged by a retribution in kind. Their opinions on the matter were shortly expressed.

Meanwhile, the minister who, in the conduct of the mighty cause which he was guiding, had stooped to dabble in these muddy waters of intrigue, was reaping, within and without, the harvest of his errors. The consciousness of wrong brought with it the consciousness of weakness and moody alternations of temper. The triumph of his enemies stared him in the face, and rash words dropped from him, which were not allowed to fall upon the ground, declaring what he would do if the King were turned from the course of the Reformation. Carefully his antagonists at the council-board had watched him for years. They had noted down his public errors; spies had reported his most confidential language. Slowly, but surely, the pile of accusations had gathered in height and weight, till the time should come to make them public. Three years before, when the northern insurgents had demanded Cromwell's punishment, the King had answered that the laws were open, and were equal to high and low. Let an accuser come forward openly, and prove that the Privy Seal had broken the laws, and he should be punished as surely and as truly as the meanest criminal. The case against him was clear at last; if brought forward in the midst of the King's displeasure, the charges could not fail of attentive hearing, and the release from the detested matrimony might be identified with the punishment of the author of it.

For struck down Cromwell should be, as his master Wolsey had been, to rise no more. Not only was he hated on public grounds, as the leader of a revolution,

but, in his multiplied offices, he had usurped the functions of the ecclesiastical courts; he had mixed himself in the private concerns of families; he had interfered between wives and husbands, fathers and sons, brothers and sisters. In his enormous correspondence[1] he appears as the universal referee—the resource of all weak or injured persons. The mad Duchess of Norfolk chose him for her patron against the Duke. Lady Burgh, Lady Parr, Lady Hungerford,[2] alike made him the

[1] *MSS. State Paper Office*, second series, 52 volumes.

[2] Lady Burgh's letter to him will show the character of interference which he was called upon to exercise: 'My very good lord, most humbly I beseech your goodness to me your poor bounden bedewoman, considering the great trouble I am put unto by my Lord Burgh, who always hath lien in wait to put me to shame and trouble, which he shall never do, God willing, you being my good and gracious Lord, as I have found you merciful to me ever hitherto; and so I most humbly beseech you of your good continuance, desiring now your good lordship to remember me, for I am comfortless, and as yet not out of the danger of death through the great travail that I had. For I am as yet as a prisoner comfortless, only trusting to your lordship's goodness and to the King's Grace's most honourable council. For I hear say my Lord Burgh hath complained on me to your Lordship and to all the noble council; and has enformed your lordship and them all that the child that I have borne and so dearly bought is none of his son's my husband. As for me, my very good lord, I do protest afore God, and also shall receive him to my eternal damnation, if ever I designed for him with any creature living, but only with my husband; therefore now I most lamentably and humbly desire your lordship of your goodness to stay my Lord Burgh that he do not fulfil his diabolical mind to disinherit my husband's child.

'And thus am I ordered by my Lord Burgh and my husband (who dare do nothing but as his father will have him do), so that I have nothing left to help me now in my great sickness, but am fain to lay all that I have to gage, so that I have nothing left to help myself withal, and might have perished ere this time for lack of succour, but through the goodness of the gentleman and his wife which I am in house withal. Therefore I most humbly desire

champion of their domestic wrongs. Justly and unjustly, he had dragged down upon himself the animosity of peers, bishops, clergy, and gentlemen, and their day of revenge was come.

June 10. On the 10th of June he attended as usual at the morning sitting of the House of Lords. The privy council sat in the afternoon, and at three o'clock the Duke of Norfolk rose suddenly at the table: 'My Lord of Essex,' he said, 'I arrest you of high treason.' There were witnesses in readiness, who came forward and swore to have heard him say 'that, if the King and all his realm would turn and vary from his opinions, he would fight in the field in his own person, with his sword in his hand, against the King and all others; adding that, if he lived a year or two, he trusted to bring things to that frame that it should not lie in the King's power to resist or let it.'[1] The words 'were justified to his face.'[2] It was enough. Letters

your lordship to have pity on me, and that through your only goodness ye will cause my husband to use me like his wife, and no otherwise than I have deserved; and to send me money, and to pay such debts as I do owe by reason of my long being sick, and I shall pray for your lordship daily to increase in honour to your noble heart's desire. Scribbled with the hand of your bounden bedewoman, Elizabeth Burgh.'—*MS. State Paper Office*, first series, vol. xiii.

I should have been glad to have added a more remarkable letter from Lady Hungerford, who was locked up by her husband in a country house for four years, and 'would have died for lack of sustenance,' 'had not,' she wrote, 'the poor women of the country brought me, to my great window in the night, such poor meat and drink as they had, and gave me for the love of God.' But the letter contains other details not desirable to publish.—*MS. Cotton. Titus*, B 1, 397.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 349.

[2] A remarkable account of Cromwell's arrest is given by Marillac:—

'The arrest took place in the

were instantly written to the ambassadors at foreign courts, desiring them to make known the blow which had been struck and the causes which had led to it.[1]

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council chamber at the Palace at Westminster. The Lieutenant of the Tower entered with the King's commands to take him prisoner. In a burst of passion he clutched his cap and flung it on the ground. 'This, then,' he said to the Duke of Norfolk and the rest of the council assembled there, 'this, then, is my guerdon for the service that I have done. On your consciences, I ask you, am I a traitor? I may have offended, but never with my will. Such faults as I have committed deserve grace and pardon; but if the King my master believes so ill of me, let him make quick work and not leave me to languish in prison.'

'Part of the council exclaimed that he was a traitor; part said he should be judged by the bloody laws which he had himself made; words idly spoken he had twisted into treason; the measure which he had dealt to others should now be meted out to him.

'The Duke of Norfolk, after reproaching him with his many villanies, tore the George from his neck. The admiral (Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton), to show that he was as much his enemy in adversity as in prosperity he had pretended to be his friend, stripped off the Garter. He was then led down into a barge by a gate which opened on the river, and was conducted to the Tower. The people in the City knew nothing of his arrest until they saw Mr Cheyne and two archers of the guards at his house door.'—Marillac to the Constable, June 23, 1540: *MS. Bibliot. Impér. Paris.*

[1] 'His Majesty remembering how men wanting the knowledge of the truth would else speak diversely of it, considering the credit he hath had about his Highness, which might also cause the wisest sort to judge amiss thereof if that his ingratitude and treason should not be fully opened unto them.' — Ibid. The opening sentences of the letter (it was evidently a circular) also deserve notice: 'These shall be to advertise you that when the King's Majesty hath of long season travailed, and yet most godly travaileth to establish such an order in matters of religion as neither declining on the right hand or on the left hand, God's glory might be advanced, the temerity of such as would either obscure or refuse the truth of his Word refrained, stayed, and in cases of obstinacy duly corrected and punished: so it is that the Lord Privy Seal, to whom the King's Majesty hath been so special good and gracious a lord, hath, only out of his sensual appetite, wrought clean contrary to his Grace's intent, secretly and indirectly advancing the one of the extremes, and leaving the mean,

The twilight of the summer evening found Thomas Cromwell within the walls of that grim prison which had few outlets except the scaffold; and far off, perhaps, he heard the pealing of the church bells and the songs of revelry in the streets, with which the citizens, short of sight, and bestowing on him the usual guerdon of transcendent merit, exulted in his fall. 'The Lord Cromwell,' says Hall, 'being in the council chamber, was suddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower of London; the which many lamented, but more rejoiced, and specially such as either had been religious men or favoured religious persons; for they banqueted and triumphed together that night, many wishing that that day had been seven years before, and some, fearing lest he should escape, although he were imprisoned, could not be merry; others, who knew nothing but truth by him, both lamented him and heartily prayed for him. But this is true, that, of certain of the clergy he was detestably hated; and specially of such as had borne swing, and by his means were put from it; for indeed he was a man that, in all his doings, seemed not to favour any kind of Popery, nor could not abide the snuffing pride of some prelates.'[1]

The first intention was to bring him to trial,[2] but a

indifferent, true, and virtuous way which his Majesty so entirely desired, but also hath shewed himself so fervently bent to the maintenance of that his outrage, that he hath not spared most privily, most traitorously to devise how to continue the same, and in plain terms to say,' &c. Then follows the words in the text.—Ibid.

[1] HALL, p. 838.

[2] 'He is committed to the Tower of London, there to remain till it shall please his Majesty to have him tried according to the order of his

parliamentary attainder was a swifter process, better suited to the temper of the victorious reactionists. Five Romanists but a few days previously had been thus sentenced under Cromwell's direction. The retribution was only the more complete which rendered back to him the same measure which he had dealt to others. The bill was brought in a week after his arrest. His offences, when reduced into ordinary prose out of the passionate rhetoric with which they were there described, were generally these :—

laws.'—*State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 350. Henry sent for Marillac, and himself explained the cause of the catastrophe :—

'Sire, as I was about to close my letter, there came a gentleman of the Court to me with a message from the King. His Highness desires me not to be alarmed by the arrest of Lord Cromwell; and because the common people talk wildly and ignorantly, and that I may have something better than conjecture to send to your Majesty, he wishes me to learn the exact truth from himself.

'The substance of his explanation is this. The King has endeavoured, by all the means in his power, to compose the religious differences in this realm. Cromwell has lent himself to the Lutherans, and has abused his authority to show favour to the teachers of false opinions, and to oppress and hinder their opponents.

'Being admonished of late by some of his servants that he was acting contrary to his master's wishes and to the statutes of the realm, he betrayed himself, and revealed his secret intentions. He said that he hoped to put down altogether the old preachers, and leave none but the new; that in brief time he would bring things to such a pass, that the King, with all his power, should not be able to hinder him; and that his party would be so strong, that whether the King would or no, the King should accept the new doctrines, if he had himself to take arms and fight for them. The victory in the struggle would be with him, and thus he would establish at last the views for which he had long contended.

'The persons to whom Cromwell said these words revealed them to the King, more regarding their duties than the favour of their own master.

'His Majesty says also that the first time he is in conversation with me he will tell me other things which will prove how deep Lord Cromwell's fault has been.'

1. He was accused of having taken upon himself, without the King's permission, to set at liberty divers persons convicted and attainted of misprision of high treason, and divers others being apprehended and in prison for suspicion of high treason. No circumstances and no names were mentioned; but the fact seemed to be ascertained.

2. He was said to have granted licenses for money; to have issued commissions in his own name and by his own authority: and to have interfered impertinently and unjustly with the rights and liberties of the King's subjects.

3. Being a detestable heretic and disposed to set and sow common sedition and variance amongst the people, he had dispersed into all shires in the realm great numbers of false, erroneous books, disturbing the faith of the King's subjects on the nature of the Eucharist and other articles of the Christian faith. He had openly maintained that the priesthood was a form—that every Christian might equally administer the sacraments. Being vicegerent of the King in matters ecclesiastical, and appointed to correct heresy, he had granted licenses to persons detected or openly defamed of heresy to teach and preach.

4. He had addressed letters to the sheriffs in various shires, causing many false heretics to be set at liberty, some of whom had been actually indicted, and others who had been for good reason apprehended and were in prison.

5. On complaint being made to him of particular

heretics and heresies, he had protected the same heretics from punishment; 'he had terribly rebuked their accusers,' and some of them he had persecuted and imprisoned, 'so that the King's good subjects had been in fear to detect the said heretics and heresies.'

6. In fuller explanation of the expressions sworn against him on his arrest, he had made a confederation of heretics, it was said, through the country; and supposing himself to be fully able, by force and strength, to maintain and defend his said abominable treasons and heresies, on declaration made to him of certain preachers, Dr Barnes and others, preaching against the King's proclamation, 'the same Thomas Cromwell affirming the same preaching to be good, did not let to declare and say, 'If the King would turn from it, yet I would not turn; and if the King did turn, and all his people, I would fight in the field, with my sword in my hand, against him and all others; and if that I live a year or two, it shall not lie in the King's power to let it if he would.''

7. By bribery and extortion he had obtained vast sums of money; and being thus enriched, he had held the nobles in disdain.

8. Finally, being reminded of his position with respect to the Lords, and of the consequences which he might bring upon himself, he had said, 'If the Lords would handle him so, he would give them such a breakfast as never was made in England, and that the proudest of them should know.' [1]

[1] Act of Attainder of Thomas Lord Cromwell, 32 Henry VIII. The Act is not printed in the Statute Book, but it is in very good con-

The amount and character of the evidence on which these charges were brought we have no means of judging; but the majority of them carry probability on their front; and we need not doubt that the required testimony was both abundant and sound. The case, of course, had been submitted in all its details to the King before the first step had been taken; and he was called upon to fulfil the promise which he had made of permitting justice to have its way. How was the King to refuse? Many a Catholic had gone to the scaffold for words lighter than those which had been sworn against Cromwell, by Cromwell's own order. Did he or did he not utter those words? If it be these to which he alluded in a letter which he wrote from the Tower to the King,[1] Sir George Throgmorton and Sir Richard Rich were the witnesses against him; and though he tried to shake their testimony, his denial was faint, indirect—not like the broad, absolute repudiation of a man who was consciously clear of offence.[2] Could he have cleared himself on this one point it would have availed him little, if he had suspended the action of the law by his own authority, if he had permitted books to circulate secretly which were forbidden by Act of Parliament, if he had allowed prisoners for high treason or heresy to escape from con-

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dition on the Parliament roll. Burnet has placed it among his *Collectanea*.

[1] BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 500.

[2] 'Most Gracious Lord, I never spoke with the chancellor of the augmentation and Throgmorton together at one time. But if I did, I am sure I never spake of any such matter, and your Grace knows what manner of man Throgmorton has ever been towards your Grace's proceedings.'—BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 500.

finement. Although to later generations acts such as these appear as virtues, not as crimes, the King could not anticipate the larger wisdom of posterity. An English sovereign could know no guidance but the existing law, which had been manifestly and repeatedly broken. Even if he had himself desired to shield his minister, it is not easy to see that he could have prevented his being brought to trial, or, if tried, could have prevented his conviction, in the face of an exasperated Parliament, a furious clergy, and a clamorous people. That he permitted the council to proceed by attainder, in preference to the ordinary forms, must be attributed to the share which he, too, experienced in the general anger.[1]

Only one person had the courage or the wish to speak for Cromwell. Cranmer, the first to come forward on behalf of Anne Boleyn, ventured, first and alone, to throw a doubt on the treason of the Privy Seal. 'I heard yesterday, in your Grace's council,' he wrote to the King, 'that the Earl of Essex is a traitor; yet who cannot be sorrowful and amazed that he should be a

[1] 'The King is so exasperated that he will not hear him speak, and is only anxious to put away the very memory of him as of the vilest wretch that ever was born in the realm. The public criers have gone through the City, proclaiming that he is not to be called Lord Privy Seal or by any other title of honour, but solely Master Thomas Cromwell. His privileges and prerogatives of nobility are taken from him. The less valuable of his effects are distributed among his servants, who are forbidden to wear their master's livery, and it is thought he will not be admitted to trial as a peer of the realm,* or be executed with a peer's privilege by the axe. He will be hanged like any common villain.'—Marillac to the Constable, June 23, 1540. *MS. Bibliot. Impér. Paris.*

* This is, perhaps, the explanation of the process against Cromwell being by attainder. The lords would not acknowledge him as their peer.

traitor against your Majesty—he whose surety was only by your Majesty—he who loved your Majesty, as I ever thought, no less than God—he who studied always to set forwards whatsoever was your Majesty's will and pleasure—he that cared for no man's displeasure to serve your Majesty—he that was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience as no prince in this realm ever had—he that was so vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived but he detected the same in the beginning!—I loved him as my friend, for so I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love which I thought I saw him bear ever towards your Grace, singularly above all others. But now, if he be a traitor, I am sorry that ever I loved or trusted him; and I am very glad that his treason is discovered in time; but yet, again, I am very sorrowful; for who shall your Grace trust hereafter, if you may not trust him? Alas! I lament your Grace's chance herein. I wot not whom your Grace may trust.'[1]

The intercession was bravely ventured; but it was fruitless. The illegal acts of a minister who had been trusted with extraordinary powers were too patent for denial; and Cranmer himself was forced into a passive acquiescence, while the enemies of the Reformation worked their revenge. Heresy and truth, treason and patriotism! these are words which in a war of parties change their meaning with the alternations of success,

[1] Cranmer to the King: a Fragment printed by Lord Herbert.

till time and fate have pronounced the last interpretation, and human opinions and sympathies bend to the deciding judgment. But while the struggle is still in progress—while the partisans on either side exclaim that truth is with them, and error with their antagonists, and the minds of this man and of that man are so far the only arbiters—those, at such a time, are not the least to be commended who obey for their guide the law as it in fact exists. Men there are who need no such direction, who follow their own course—it may be to a glorious success, it may be to as glorious a death. To such proud natures the issue to themselves is of trifling moment. They live for their work or die for it, as their Almighty Father wills. But the law in a free country cannot keep pace with genius. It reflects the plain sentiments of the better order of average men; and if it so happen as in a perplexed world of change it will happen and must, that a statesman, or a prophet, is beyond his age, and in collision with a law which his conscience forbids him to obey, he bravely breaks it, bravely defies it, and either wins the victory in his living person, or, more often, wins it in his death. In fairness, Cromwell should have been tried; but it would have added nothing to his chances of escape. He could not disprove the accusations. He could but have said that he had done right, not wrong—a plea which would have been but a fresh crime. But, in the deafening storm of denunciation which burst out, the hastiest vengeance was held the greatest justice. Any charge, however wild, gained hearing; the French Court believed

that the Privy Seal had intended privately to marry the Lady Mary, as the Duke of Suffolk had married the King's sister, and on Henry's death proposed to seize the crown.[1] When a story so extravagant could gain credence, the circular of the council to the ambassadors rather furnishes matter of suspicion by its moderation.

The attainder passed instantly, with acclamation. Francis wrote a letter of congratulation to the King on the discovery of the 'treason.'[2] Charles V., whose keener eyes saw deeper into the nature of the catastrophe, when the news were communicated to him, 'was nothing moved outwardly in countenance or word,' but said merely, 'What, is he in the Tower of London, and by the King's commandment?'[3] He sent no message, no expression of regret or of pleasure, no word of any kind; but from that moment no menacing demonstrations or violent words or actions ruffled his relations with England, till a new change had passed upon the stage. His own friends were now in power. He knew it, and acknowledged them.[4]

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[1] 'The said Privy Seal's intent was to have married my Lady Mary, and the French King and the Cardinal du Ballay had much debated the same matter, reckoning at length by the great favour your Majesty did bear to him he should be made some earl or duke, and therefore presumed your Majesty would give to him in marriage the said Lady Mary your daughter, as beforetime you had done the French Queen unto my Lord of Suffolk. These things they gathered of such hints as they had heard of the Privy Seal, before knowing him to be fine witted, in so much as at all times when any marriage was treated of for my said Lady Mary, he did always his best to break the same.'—*State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 379, and see p. 362.

[2] *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 362.

[3] Pate to the Duke of Norfolk: ibid. p. 355.

[4] Richard Pate, a priest of high Anglican views, and now minister at

The barrier which had stemmed the reactionary tide had now fallen. Omnipotent in Parliament and Convocation, the King inclining in their favour, carrying with them the sympathy of the wealth, the worldliness, and the harder intellect of the country, freed from the dreaded minister, freed from the necessity of conciliating the German Protestants, the Anglican leaders made haste to redeem their lost time, and develope their policy more wisely than before.

Their handiwork is to be traced in the various measures which occupied the remainder of the session. The first step was to despatch the Bishop of Bath to the Duke of Cleves, to gain his consent, if possible, to his sister's separation from the King; Anne, herself, meanwhile, being recommended, for the benefit of her health, to retire for a few days to Richmond. The bill of attainder was disposed of on the 19th of June; on the 22nd the bishops brought in a bill for the better payment of tithes, which in a few years last past certain persons had contemptuously presumed to withhold.[1]

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the Imperial Court, supplied the Emperor's silence by his own enthusiasm. He wrote to Henry an ecstatic letter on the 'fall of that wicked man who, by his false doctrines and like disciples, so disturbed his Grace's subjects, that the age was in manner brought to desperation, perceiving a new tradition taught.' 'What blindness,' he exclaimed, 'what ingratitude is this of this traitor's, far passing Lucifer's, that, endeavouring to pluck the sword out of his sovereign's hand, hath deserved to feel the power of the same! But lauded be our Lord God that hath delivered your Grace out of the bear's claws, as not long before of a semblable danger of the lioness!'—Pate to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 364.

[1] 32 Henry VIII. cap. 7; *Lords Journals*, 32 Henry VIII. Session June 22.

July 1. On the 1st of July a bill was read enacting that, whereas in the Parliament of the year preceding 'a godly Act was made for the abolishment of diversity of opinion concerning the Christian religion,' the provisions of which, for various reasons, had not been enforced, for the better execution of the said Act the number of commissioners appointed for that purpose should be further increased; and the bishops and the bishops' chancellors should be assisted by the archdeacons and the officials of their courts.[1] This measure, like the attainder, was passed unanimously.[2] On the 5th a general pardon was introduced, from which heretics were exempted by a special proviso.[3] The new spirit was rapid in its manifestation. The day after (for it was not thought necessary to wait for a letter from Germany) the Cleves' marriage was brought forward for discussion; and the care with

July 6.

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[1] 32 Henry VIII. cap. 15; *Lords Journals*, 32 Henry VIII. July 1.

[2] Communi omnium procerum consensu nemine discrepante.

[3] 'Excepted alway all and all manner of heresies and erroneous opinions touching or concerning, plainly, directly, and only, the most holy and blessed sacrament of the altar; and these heresies and erroneous opinions hereafter ensuing: that infants ought not to be baptized, and if they be baptized, they ought to be rebaptized when they come to lawful age; that it is not lawful for a Christian man to bear office or rule in the commonwealth; that no man's laws ought to be obeyed; that it is not lawful for a Christian man to take an oath before any judge; that Christ took no bodily substance of our blessed Lady; that sinners, after baptism, cannot be restored by repentance; that every manner of death, with the time and hour thereof, is so certainly prescribed, appointed, and determined to every man of God, that neither any prince by his sword can alter it, nor any man by his own wilfulness prevent or change it; that all things be common and nothing several.'—32 Henry VIII. cap. 49.

which the pleadings were parodied which had justified the divorce of Catherine resembled rather a deliberate intention to discredit the first scandal than a serious effort to defend the second; but we must not judge the conduct of a party blinded with passion by the appearance which such conduct seems to wear in a calmer retrospect.

The chancellor, once more reminding the lords of the wars of the Roses, and the danger of a disputed succession, informed them that certain doubts had arisen affecting the legality of the King's present marriage. The absence of a prospect of issue was the single palliative of the present proceedings. The chancellor injured the case so far as it admitted of injury, by dwelling on the possibility of an issue of doubtful legitimacy. The questions raised, however, belonged, he said, to the canon law, and he proposed that they should be submitted to the clergy then sitting in Convocation.

When the chancellor had ceased, the peers desired to communicate with the other House. Six delegates were sent down to repeat the substance of what they had heard, and returned presently, followed by twenty members of the House of Commons, who signified a wish to speak with the King in person. The Lords assented, and repaired in a body with the twenty members to Whitehall. The formality of State interviews may not be too closely scrutinized. They requested to be allowed to open to his Majesty a great and important matter, which his Majesty, they were well aware, had alone permitted them to discuss. His Majesty, being

confident that they would make no improper demands, they laid before him the proposition which they had heard from the woolsack, and added their own entreaties that he would be pleased to consent.[1] The King was gracious, but the canon law required also the consent of the Queen; for which, therefore, the Duke of Suffolk, the Bishop of Winchester, and other noblemen were despatched to Richmond, and with which they soon returned.[2] Six years were spent over the affair with Queen Catherine: almost as many days sufficed to dispose of Anne of Cleves.

July 7. On the Wednesday morning the clergy assembled, and Gardiner, in 'a luminous oration,'[3] invited them to the task which they were to undertake. Evidence was sent in by different members of the privy council whom the King had admitted to his confidence; by the ladies of the Court who could speak for the condition of the Queen; and finally, by Henry himself, in a paper which he wrote with his own

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[1] *Lords Journals*, 32 Henry VIII. July 6.

[2] 'Upon Tuesday, the sixth of this month, our nobles and commons made suit and request unto us to commit the examination of the justness of our matrimony to the clergy; upon which request made we sent incontinently our councillors the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, the Bishop of Winchester, &c., advertising the Queen what request was made, and in what sort, and thereupon to know what answer she would make unto the same. Whereunto after divers conferences at good length, and the matter by her thoroughly perceived and considered, she answered plainly and frankly that she was contented that the discussion of the matter should be committed to the clergy as unto judges competent in that behalf.'—*State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 404; and see Anne of Cleves to the King; ibid. vol. i. p. 637.

[3] Luculentâ Oratione: STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 553.

hand, accompanying it with a request that, after reviewing all the circumstances under which the marriage had been contracted, they would inform him if it was still binding; and adding at the same time an earnest adjuration, which it is not easy to believe to have been wholly a form, that, having God only before their eyes, they would point out to him the course which justly, honourably, and religiously he was at liberty to pursue.[1]

His personal declaration was as follows:—[2]

'I depose and declare that this hereafter written is merely the verity, intended upon no sinister affection, nor yet upon none hatred or displeasure, and herein I take God to witness. To the matter, I say and affirm that, when the first communication was had with me for the marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleves, I was glad to hearken to it, trusting to have some assured friend by it, I much doubting at that time both the Emperor, and France, and the Bishop of Rome, and also because I heard so much both of her excellent beauty and virtuous behaviour. But when I saw her at Rochester, which was the first time that ever I saw her, it rejoiced my heart that I had kept me free from making any pact or bond before with her till I saw her myself; for I assure you that I liked her so ill and

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[1] 'Inspectâ hujus negotii veritate ac solum Deum præ oculis habentes, quod verum, quod honestum, quod sanctum est, id nobis, de communi concilio scripto authentico renuncietis et de communi consensu licere diffiniatis. Nempe hoc unum a vobis nostro jure postulamus ut tanquam fida et proba ecclesiæ membra causæ huic ecclesiasticæ quæ maxima est in justitiâ et veritate adesse velitis.'—*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 630.

[2] *MS. Cotton. Otho*, x. 240.

[found her to be] so far contrary to that she was praised, that I was woe that ever she came into England, and deliberated with myself that if it were possible to find means to break off, I would never enter yoke with her; of which misliking both the Great Master (Lord Russell), the Admiral that now is, and the Master of the Horse (Sir Anthony Brown) can and will bear record. Then after my repair to Greenwich, the next day after, I think, I doubt not but the Lord of Essex will and can declare what I then said to him in that case, not doubting but, since he is a person which knoweth himself condemned to die by Act of Parliament, he will not damn his soul, but truly declare the truth not only at that time spoken by me, but also continually until the day of the marriage, and also many times after; wherein my lack of consent I doubt not doth or shall well appear, and also lack enough of the will and power to consummate the same, wherein both he and my physicians can testify according to the truth.'

Nearly two hundred clergy were assembled, and the ecclesiastical lawyers were called in to their assistance. The deliberation lasted Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday.[1] On Saturday they had agreed upon their judgment, which was produced and read in the House of Lords.

July 10.

The contract between the Lady Anne of Cleves and the Marquis of Lorraine was sufficient, they would not say to invalidate, but to perplex and complicate any

[1] *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 404.

second marriage into which she might have entered.

Before the ceremony the King had required the production of the papers relating to that engagement with so much earnestness, that the demand might be taken as a condition on which the marriage was completed. But the papers had not been produced, the uncertainties had not been cleared . . . and thus there had not only been a breach of condition, but, if no condition had been made, the previous objection was further increased.

Consent had been wanting on the part of the King.[1] False representations had been held out to bring the lady into the realm and force her upon his Majesty's acceptance.

The solemnization of the marriage was extorted from his Majesty against his will under urgent pressure and compulsion by external causes.

Consummation had not followed, nor ought to follow, and the Convocation had been informed—as indeed it was matter of common notoriety—that if his Majesty could, without the breach of any divine law, be married to another person, great benefits might thereby accrue to the realm, the present welfare and safety whereof depended on the preservation of his royal person, to the honour of God, the accomplishment of His will, and the avoiding of sinister opinions and scandals.

Considering all these circumstances, therefore, and weighing what the Church might and could lawfully

do in such cases, and had often before done,[1] the Convocation, by the tenor of those their present letters, declared his Majesty not to be any longer bound by the matrimony in question, which matrimony was null and invalid; and both his Majesty and the Lady Anne were free to contract and consummate other marriages without objection or delay.

To this judgment two archbishops, seventeen bishops, and a hundred and thirty-nine clergy set their hands.[2] Their sentence was undoubtedly legal, according to a stricter interpretation of the canon law than had been usual in the ecclesiastical courts. The case was of a kind in which the Queen, on her separate suit, could, with clear right, have obtained a divorce *a vinculo* had she desired; and the country had been accustomed to see separations infinitely more questionable obtained in the court of the Rota or at home, with easy and scandalous levity.[3] Nor could the most scrupulous person, looking

[1] 'Tum vero quid ecclesia in ejusmodi casibus et possit facere et sæpenumero antehac fecerit perpendentes.'—Judgment of the Convocation: *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 632.

[2] Ibid. p. 633.

[3] 'Heretofore divers and many persons, after long continuance together in matrimony, and fruit of children having ensued of the same, have nevertheless, by an unjust law of the Bishop of Rome (which is upon pretence of a former contract made and not consummate by carnal copulation, for proof whereof two witnesses by that law were only required), been divorced and separate contrary to God's law, and so the true matrimonies solemnized in the face of the Church and confirmed by fruit of children, have been clearly frustrate and dissolved. Further, also, by reason of other prohibitions than God's law admitteth, for their lucre by that court invented, the dispensation whereof they always reserved to themselves, as in kindred or affinity between cousin germains, and so to the fourth and fifth degree, and all because they would get money by it, and keep a reputation to their usurped jurisdiction, not

at the marriage between Henry and Anne of Cleves on its own merits, pretend that any law, human or divine, would have been better fulfilled, or that any feeling entitled to respect would have been less outraged, by the longer maintenance of so unhappy a connection. Yet it is much to be regretted that the clergy should have been compelled to meddle with it; under however plausible an aspect the divorce might be presented, it gave a colour to the interpretation which represented the separation from Catherine as arising out of caprice, and enabled the enemies of the Church of England to represent her synods as the instruments of the King's licentiousness.[1]

For good or for evil, however, the judgment was given. The Bishop of Winchester spoke a few words in

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only much discord between lawful married persons hath, contrary to God's ordinances, arisen, much debate and suit at the law, with the wrongful vexation and great danger of the innocent party hath been procured, and many just marriages brought in doubt and danger of undoing, and also many times undone: marriages have been brought into such uncertainty, that no marriage could be so surely knit and bounden but it should lie in either of the parties' power and arbitre, casting away the fear of God, by means and compasses to prove a precontract, a kindred, an alliance, or a carnal knowledge, to defeat the same, and so, under the pretence of these allegations afore rehearsed, to live all the days of their lives in detestable adultery, to the utter destruction of their own souls and the provocation of the terrible wrath of God upon the places where such abominations were suffered and used.'—32 Henry VIII. cap. 38.

[1] The Protestant refugees became at once as passionate, as clamorous, and as careless in their statements as the Catholics.—See especially a letter of Richard Hilles to Bullinger (*Original Letters*, 196): to which Burnet has given a kind of sanction by a quotation. This letter contains about as trustworthy an account of the state of London as a letter of a French or Austrian exile in England or America would contain at present of the Courts of Paris or Vienna.

explanation to the two Houses of Parliament when it was presented;[1] and the next day the Duke of Suffolk and Wriothesley waited on the Queen, and communicated the fortune which was impending over her. Anne herself—who, after the slight agitation which the first mooting of the matter naturally produced, had acquiesced in everything which was proposed to her—received the intimation with placidity. She wrote at their request to the King, giving her consent in writing. She wrote also to her brother, declaring herself satisfied, and expressing her hope that he would be satisfied as well. So much facility increased the consideration which her treatment entitled her to claim. The Bishop of Bath had taken with him to the Duke of Cleves an offer, which ought to have been an insult, of a pecuniary compensation for his sister's injury. It was withdrawn or qualified, before it was known to have been refused, to increase the settlement on the ex-queen. For many reasons the King desired that she should remain in England; but she had rank and precedence assigned to her as if she had been a princess of the blood. Estates were granted for her maintenance producing nearly three thousand a year. Palaces, dresses, jewels, costly establishments were added in lavish profusion, to be her dowry, as she was significantly told, should she desire to make a fresh experiment in matrimony. And she not only (it is likely) preferred a splendid independence to the poverty of a petty court in Germany, but

[1] *Lords Journals*, 32 Henry VIII.

perhaps, also, to the doubtful magnificence which she had enjoyed as Henry's bride.[1]

Parliament made haste with the concluding stroke. On Monday the 12th the bill for the divorce was introduced: it was disposed of with the greatest haste which the forms of the Houses would allow; and the conclusion of the matter was announced to the Queen's own family and the foreign powers almost as soon as it was known to be contemplated. The Duke of Cleves, on the first audience of the Bishop of Bath, had shown himself 'heavy and hard to pacify and please.' When all was over, the Bishops of Winchester and Durham, with other noble lords, wrote to him themselves, persuading him to acquiesce in a misfortune which could no longer be remedied; his sister had al- Monday, July 12.

[1] See *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 637, and vol. viii. p. 403, &c.

Her relations with the King remained on so friendly a footing that people supposed she might be taken again into favour. On the 6th of August Marillac wrote:

'The King is ten miles off at Hampton Court, thinly attended, and has been lately at Richmond to visit the Queen that was. He is on the best possible terms with her, and they supped so pleasantly together that some thought she was to be restored to her place. Others say, however, that the King merely wanted to tell her what had been done, and required her signature to the deed of separation; and this is most likely the true account of the thing, for three of the privy council were brought in, who are not in general admitted to such terms of familiarity. It would argue too great inconstancy, it would reflect too much on the King's honour, to put her away on a plea of conscience and take her back so easily. If she might justly be his wife, why did he put her away so precipitately? If there were lawful impediments to the marriage, by what right could he take her back? Moreover, she was not treated with as much distinction as when Queen. She had then a seat at his side. On this occasion she sat at a little distance at a table joining the corner of the table where the King sat.'

ready declared her own satisfaction; and Henry, through his commissioners, informed him in detail of the proceedings in Parliament and Convocation, and trusted that the friendship between the Courts would not be interrupted in consequence. It would have been well had he added nothing to a bare narrative of facts; but questionable actions are rarely improved in the manner of their execution. The King was irritated at the humiliation to which the conduct of the German powers had exposed him in the spring; and the Duke of Cleves had afterwards increased his displeasure by a secret intrigue with the Court of Paris. Satisfied with his settlements upon Anne, he avowed an anxiety to be extricated from his offer of money to the Duke, 'who might percase, to his miscontentment, employ it by the advice of others, or at least without commodity to the giver.'[1] In fact, he said, as he had done nothing but what was right, 'if the lady's contentation would not content her friends, it should not be honourable for him, with detriment and waste of his treasure, to labour to satisfy those who without cause misliked his doings, which were just, and without injury to be passed over.'[2] Finally, he concluded: 'In case the Duke sheweth himself untractable and high-couraged, in such sort as devising interests and respects, he shall further set forth the matter, and increase it with words more largely than reason would he should, alledging, percase, that though the lady is contented, yet he is not contented,

[1] *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 407. [2] Ibid. p. 408.

her mother is not contented, requiring why and wherefore, and such other behaviour as men in high stomach, forgetting reason, shew and utter, in that case you, the Bishop of Bath, declaring unto the Duke how we sent you not thither to render an account of our just proceedings, but friendly to communicate them, you shall desire the Duke to license you to depart.'[1]

The high style of Henry contrasts unfavourably with the more dignified moderation of the answer. The Duke wrote himself briefly to the King: he replied through his minister to the ambassador, that 'he was sorry for the chance, and would well have wished it had been otherwise; yet, seeing it was thus, he would not depart from his amity for his Majesty for any such matter. He could have wished that his sister should return to Germany; but, if she was satisfied to remain, he had confidence that the King would act uprightly towards her, and he would not press it.' Of the offer of money he took little notice or none.[2] The Bishop laboured to

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[1] *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 410.

[2] The Bishop, nevertheless, was not satisfied that it would be refused, if it could be had. He thought, evidently, that Henry would act prudently by being liberal in the matter. Speaking of the discontentment which had been shown, he added: 'For any overture that yet hath been opened you may do your pleasure. How be it, in case of their suit unto your Majesty, if the Duke shall be content by his express consent to approve your proceeding, specially the said decree of your clergy, whereby all things may be here ended and brought to silence, and the lady there remaining still, this Duke, without kindling any further fire, made your Majesty's assured friend with a demonstration thereof to the world, and that with so small a sum of money to be given unto him (sub colore restitutionis pecuniæ pro oneribus et dote licet vere nulla interesset), or under some other good colour. . . . . God forbid your Majesty should much stick

persuade him to pay respect to the judgment of the Church; this, however, the Duke resolutely refused, altogether ignoring it as of no manner of moment; neither would he allow that the Lady Anne had been treated honourably, although the Bishop much pressed for the admission. A cold acquiescence in an affront which he was too weak to resent, and a promise that his private injuries should not cause the dissolution of an alliance which had been useful to the interests of religion, was the most which could be extorted from the Duke of Cleves; and, in calmer moments, Henry could neither have desired nor looked for more. But no one at that crisis was calm in England. The passions roused in the strife of convictions which divided rank from rank, which divided families, which divided every earnest man against himself, extended over all subjects which touched the central question. The impulse of the moment assumed the character of right, and everything was wrong which refused to go along with it.

Sir Edward Karne made the communication to Francis, prefacing his story with the usual prelude of the succession, and the anxiety of the country that the King should have more children. 'Even at that point' Francis started, expecting that something serious was to follow. When Sir Edward went on to say that 'the examination of the King's marriage was submitted to the clergy,' 'What,' he said, 'the matrimony made with the Queen that now is?' Karne assented. 'Then he

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thereat.'—Bishop of Bath to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 425.

fetched a great sigh, and spake no more' till the conclusion, when he answered, 'he could nor would take any other opinion of his Highness but as his loving brother and friend should do;' for the particular matter, 'his Highness's conscience must be judge therein.'[1]

'The Emperor,' wrote the resident Pate, 'when I declared my commission, gave me good air, with one gesture and countenance throughout, saving that suddenly, as I touched the pith of the matter, thereupon he steadfastly cast his eye upon me a pretty while, and then interrupting me, demanded what the causes were of the doubts concerning the marriage with the daughter of Cleves.' Pate was not commissioned to enter into details; and Charles, at the end, contented himself with sending his hearty recommendations, and expressing his confidence that, as the King was wise, so he was sure he would do nothing 'which should not be to the discharge of his conscience and the tranquillity of his realm.'[2] In confidence, a few days later, he avowed a hope that all would now go well in England; the enormities of the past had been due to the pernicious influence of Cromwell; or were 'beside the King's pleasure or knowledge, being a prince,' the Emperor said, 'no less godly brought up than endued and imbued with so many virtuous qualities as whom all blasts and storms could never alter nor move, but as vice might alter true virtue.'[3] On the whole, the impression left by the affair on the Continent was that Henry 'had lost the hearts

[1] *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 392. [2] Ibid. p. 386.
[3] Ibid. p. 397.

of the German princes, but had gained the Emperor instead.'[1] Both the loss and the gain were alike welcome to the English conservatives. The latter, happy in their victory, and now freed from all impediments, had only to follow up their advantage.

On the 12th of July the persecuting bill was passed, and the Tithe Bill also, after having been recast by the Commons.[2] On the 16th the Six Articles Bill was moderated, in favour not of heresy, but of the more venial offence of incontinency. Married clergy and incontinent priests by the Six Articles Bill were, on the first offence, to forfeit their benefices; if they persisted they were to be treated as felons. The King's Highness, graciously considering 'that the punishment of death was very sore, and too much extreme,' was contented to relax the penalty into three gradations. For the first offence the punishment was to be forfeiture of all benefices but one; for the second, forfeiture of the one remaining; for the third, imprisonment for life.[3] A few days later the extension given to the prerogative, by the Act of Proclamations, was again shortened by communicating to the clergy a share of the powers which had been granted absolutely to the Crown; and

[1] Pate to the Duke of Suffolk: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 412.

[2] No draft of the bill exists in its original form. As it passed it conferred on lay impropriators the same power of recovering tithes as was given to the clergy. The members of the Lower House had been, many of them, purchasers of abbey lands, and impropriated tithes formed a valuable item of the property. It is likely that the bishops overlooked, and that the commons remembered this important condition.—*Lords Journals*, 32 Henry VIII. Session of July 12.

[3] 32 Henry VIII. cap. 10.

the Parliament at the same time restored into the hands of the spiritualty the control of religious opinion. The Protestants had shifted their ground from purgatory and masses to free-will and justification; and had thus defied the bishops, and left the law behind them. The King's proclamations had failed through general neglect. A committee of religion was now constituted, composed of the archbishops, bishops, and other learned doctors of divinity; and an Act, which passed three readings in the House of Lords in a single day, conferred on this body a power to declare absolutely, under the King's sanction, the judgment of the English Church on all questions of theology which might be raised, either at home or on the Continent, and to compel submission to their decrees, under such pains and penalties as they might think proper to impose, limited only by the common law and by the restrictions attached to the Act of Proclamations.[1]

One important matter remained. This statute conferred no powers of life and death; and there were certain chosen champions of Protestantism who had resisted authority, had scoffed at recantation, and had insulted the Bishop of Winchester. Although a penal measure could not be extended to comprehend their doctrine by special definition, an omnipotent Parliament might, by a stretch of authority, vindicate the Bishop's dignity, and make a conspicuous example of the offenders. A case of high treason was before the Houses. At the

[1] 32 Henry VIII. cap. 26.

time when the invasion was impending, a party of conspirators, Sir Gregory Botolph, Clement Philpot, and three others, had contrived a project to betray Calais either to the French or the Spaniards. The plot had been revealed by a confederate;[1] and the Anglo-Catholics did not intend to repeat the blunder of showing a leaning towards the Romanists, which had wrecked their fortunes in the preceding summer: they sentenced the offenders to death by an attainder; and after so satisfac-

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[1] Philpot's confession is preserved. He describes how Sir Gregory Botolph, returning to Calais from a journey to Rome, took him one night upon the walls, and after swearing him to secrecy, showed himself a worthy pupil of Reginald Pole.

'If England have not a scourge in time,' Botolph said, 'they will be all infidels, and no doubt God to friend, there shall be a redress; and know ye for a truth what my enterprise is, with the aid of God and such ways as I shall devise. I shall get the town of Calais into the hands of the Pope and Cardinal Pole, who is as good a Catholic man as ever I reasoned with; and when I had declared everything of my mind unto them, no more but we three together in the Pope's chamber, I had not a little cheer of the Pope and Cardinal Pole; and after this at all times I might enter the Pope's chamber at my pleasure.'

Philpot asked him how he intended to proceed, Calais being so strong a place. 'It shall be easy to be done,' Botolph said. 'In the herring time they do use to watch in the lantern gate, whereat there be in the watch about a dozen persons, and against the time which shall be appointed in the night, you, with a dozen persons well appointed for the purpose, shall enter the watch and destroy them. That done, ye shall recoil back with your company and keep the stairs, and at the same time I with my company shall be ready to scale the walls over the gate. I will have five or six hundred men that shall enter with me on the first burst. We shall have aid both by sea and land, within short space.'—Confession of Clement Philpot: *Rolls House MS.* Viscount Lisle, the old commandant of Calais, an illegitimate son of Edward IV., was suspected of having been privy to the conspiracy, and was sent for to England. His innocence was satisfactorily proved, but he died in the Tower on the day when he would have been liberated.

tory a display of loyalty, the friends of the bishops added three more names to the list in the following words:[1]

'And whereas Robert Barnes, late of London, clerk, Thomas Garret, late of London, clerk, and William Jerome, late of Stepney, in the county of Middlesex, clerk, being detestable and abominable heretics, and having amongst themselves agreed and confederated to set and sow common sedition and variance amongst the King's true and loving subjects within this his realm, not fearing their most bounden duty to God nor yet their allegiance towards his Majesty, have openly preached, taught, set forth, and delivered in divers and sundry places of this realm, a great number of heresies, false, erroneous opinions, doctrines, and sayings; and thinking themselves to be men of learning, have taken upon them most seditiously and heretically to open and declare divers and many texts of Scripture, expounding and applying the same to many perverse and heretical senses, understandings, and purposes, to the intent to induce and lead his Majesty's said subjects to diffidence and refusal of the true sincere faith and belief which Christian men ought to have in Christian religion, the number whereof were too long here to be rehearsed. . . . . Be it, therefore, enacted that the said persons, Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, shall be convicted and attainted of heresy, and that they and every of them shall be deemed and adjudged abominable and detestable heretics, and shall have and suffer pains of death

[1] 32 Henry VIII. cap. 58: unprinted *Rolls House MS.*

by burning or otherwise, as shall please the King's Majesty.'

This was the last measure of consequence in the session. Three days after, it closed. On the 24th the King came down to Westminster in person, to thank the Parliament for the subsidy. The Speaker of the House of Commons congratulated the country on their sovereign. The chancellor replied, in his Majesty's name, that his only study was for the welfare of his subjects; his only ambition was to govern them by the rule of the Divine law, and the Divine love, to the salvation of their souls and bodies. The bills which had been passed were then presented for the royal assent; and the chancellor, after briefly exhorting the members of both Houses to show the same diligence in securing the due execution of these measures as they had displayed in enacting them, declared the Parliament dissolved.[1]

The curtain now rises on the closing Act of the

[1] *Lords Journals*, 32 Henry VIII. The clerk of the Parliament has attached a note to the summary of the session declaring that throughout its progress the peers had voted unanimously. From which it has been concluded, among other things, that Cranmer voted for Cromwell's execution. The Archbishop was present in the House on the day on which the bill for the attainder was read the last time. There is no evidence, however, that he remained till the question was put; and as he dared to speak for him on his arrest, he is entitled to the benefit of any uncertainty which may exist. It is easy to understand how he, and the few other peers who were Cromwell's friends, may have abstained from a useless opposition in the face of an overwhelming majority. We need not exaggerate their timidity, or reproach them with an active consent of which no hint is to be found in any contemporary letter, narrative, or document.

Cromwell tragedy. In the condemned cells in the Tower, the three Catholics for whose sentence he was himself answerable—the three Protestants whom his fall had left exposed to their enemies—were the companions of the broken minister; and there for six weeks he himself, the central figure, whose will had made many women childless, had sat waiting his own unpitied doom. Twice the King had sent to him 'honourable persons,' to receive such explanations as he could offer. He had been patiently and elaborately heard.[1] Twice he had himself written—once, by Henry's desire, an account of the Anne of Cleves marriage—once a letter, which his faithful friend Sir Ralph Sadler carried to Henry for him; and this last the King caused the bearer three times to read over, and 'seemed to be moved therewith.'[2] Yet what had Cromwell to say? That he had done his best in the interest of the commonwealth? But his best was better than the laws of the commonwealth. He had endeavoured faithfully to serve the King; but he had endeavoured also to serve One higher than the King. He had thrown himself in the breach against King and people where they were wrong. He had used the authority with which he had been so largely trusted to thwart the Parliament and suspend statutes of the realm. He might plead his services; but what would his services avail him? An offence in the King's eyes was ever proportioned to the rank, the intellect, the

[1] ELLIS, second series, vol. ii. p. 160.

[2] ELLIS, ibid.; this is apparently the letter printed by BURNET, *Collectanea*, p. 500.

character of the offender. The *via media Anglicana*, on which Henry had planted his foot, prescribed an even justice; and as Cromwell, in this name of the *via media*, had struck down without mercy the adherents of the Church of Rome, there was no alternative but to surrender him to the same equitable rule, or to declare to the world and to himself that he no longer held that middle place which he so vehemently claimed. To sustain the Six Articles and to pardon the vicegerent was impossible. If the consent to the attainder cost the King any pang, we do not know; only this we know, that a passionate appeal for mercy, such as was rarely heard in those days of haughty endurance, found no response; and on the 28th of July the most despotic minister who had ever governed England passed from the Tower to the scaffold.

July 28.

A speech was printed by authority, and circulated through Europe, which it was thought desirable that he should have been supposed to have uttered before his death. It was accepted as authentic by Hall, and from Hall's pages has been transferred into English history; and 'the Lord Cromwell' is represented to have confessed that he had been seduced into heresy, that he repented, and died in the faith of the holy Catholic Church. Reginald Pole, who, like others, at first accepted the official report as genuine, warned a correspondent, on the authority of persons whose account might be relied upon, that the words which were really spoken were very different, and to Catholic minds were

far less satisfactory.[1] The last effort of Cromwell's enemies was to send him out of the world with a lie upon his lips, to call in his dying witness in favour of falsehoods which he gave up his life to overthrow. Clear he was not—as what living man was clear?—of all taint of superstition; but a fairer version of his parting faith will be found in words which those who loved him, and who preserved no record of his address to the people, handed down as his last prayer to the Saviour:—

'O Lord Jesu, which art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in Thee, I, wretched sinner, do submit myself wholly to Thy most blessed will; and, being sure that the thing cannot perish which is submitted to Thy mercy, willingly now I leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that Thou wilt in better wise restore it to me again at the last day in the resurrection of the just. I beseech Thee, most merciful Lord Jesu Christ, that Thou wilt by Thy grace make strong my soul against all temptation, and defend me with the buckler of Thy mercy against all the assaults of the devil. I see and acknowledge that there is in myself no hope of salvation; but all my confidence, hope, and trust is in Thy most merciful goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may allege before Thee: of sin and evil

[1] Vereor ne frustra cum Reverendissimâ Dominatione vestrâ per litteras de Cromwelli resipiscentiâ sum gratulatus, nec enim quæ typis sunt excusa quæ ad me missa sunt, in quibus novissima ejus verba recitantur, talem animum mihi exprimunt qualem eorum narratio qui de ejus exitu et de extremis verbis mecum sunt locuti.'—Pole to Beccatelli: *Epist.* vol. iii.

works, alas! I see a great heap. But yet, through Thy mercy, I trust to be in the number of them to whom Thou wilt not impute their sins, but wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou, merciful Lord, wast born for my sake; Thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my sake; all Thy holy actions and works Thou wroughtest for my sake; Thou sufferedst both grievous pains and torments for my sake; finally, Thou gavest Thy most precious body and blood to be shed on the cross for my sake. Now, most merciful Saviour, let all these things profit me that Thou hast freely done for me, which hast given Thyself also for me. Let Thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots and foulness of my sins. Let Thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness. Let the merits of Thy passion and bloodshedding be satisfaction for my sins. Give me, Lord, Thy grace, that the faith in my salvation in Thy blood waver not, but may ever be firm and constant; that the hope of Thy mercy and life everlasting never decay in me; that love wax not cold in me; finally, that the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with fear of death. Grant me, merciful Saviour, that when death hath shut up the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon Thee; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may cry and say unto Thee, Lord, into Thy hands I commend my soul. Lord Jesu, receive my spirit. Amen.'[1]

[1] Prayer of the Lord Cromwell on the Scaffold: FOXE, vol. v.

With these words upon his lips perished a statesman whose character will for ever remain a problem.[1] For eight years his influence had been supreme with the King—supreme in Parliament—supreme in Convocation; the nation, in the ferment of revolution, was absolutely controlled by him; and he has left the print of his individual genius stamped indelibly, while the metal was at white heat, into the constitution of the country. Wave after wave has rolled over his work. Romanism flowed back over it under Mary. Puritanism, under another even grander Cromwell, overwhelmed it. But Romanism ebbed again, and Puritanism is dead, and the polity of the Church of England remains as it was left by its creator.

And not in the Church only, but in all departments of the public service, Cromwell was the sovereign guide. In the Foreign Office and the Home Office, in Star Chamber and at council table, in dockyard and law court, Cromwell's intellect presided—Cromwell's hand executed. His gigantic correspondence remains to witness for his varied energy. Whether it was an ambassador or a commissioner of sewers, a warden of a company or a tradesman who was injured by the guild, a bishop or a heretic, a justice of the peace, or a serf crying for emancipation, Cromwell was the universal authority to whom all officials looked for instruction, and all sufferers looked for redress.

[1] His death seems to have been needlessly painful through the awkwardness of the executioner, 'a ragged and butcherly miser, who very ungoodly performed the office.' —HALL.

Hated by all those who had grown old in an earlier system—by the wealthy, whose interests were touched by his reforms—by the superstitious, whose prejudices he wounded—he was the defender of the weak, the defender of the poor, defender of the 'fatherless and forsaken;' and for his work, the long maintenance of it has borne witness that it was good—that he did the thing which England's true interests required to be done.

Of the manner in which that work was done it is less easy to speak. Fierce laws fiercely executed—an unflinching resolution which neither danger could daunt nor saintly virtue move to mercy—a long list of solemn tragedies—weigh upon his memory. He had taken upon himself a task beyond the ordinary strength of man. His difficulties could be overcome only by inflexible persistence in the course which he had marked out for himself and for the State; and he supported his weakness by a determination which imitated the unbending fixity of a law of nature. He pursued an object, the excellence of which, as his mind saw it, transcended all other considerations—the freedom of England and the destruction of idolatry: and those who from any motive, noble or base, pious or impious, crossed his path, he crushed, and passed on over their bodies.

Whether the same end could have been attained by gentler methods is a question which many persons suppose they can answer easily in the affirmative. Some diffidence of judgment, however, ought to be taught by the recollection that the same end was purchased in

every other country which had the happiness to attain to it at all, only by years of bloodshed, a single day or week of which caused larger human misery than the whole period of the administration of Cromwell. Be this as it will, his aim was noble. For his actions he paid with his life; and he followed his victims by the same road which they had trodden before him, to the high tribunal, where it may be that great natures who on earth have lived in mortal enmity may learn at last to understand each other.

Two days after, Barnes, Garret, and Jerome died bravely at the stake, their weakness and want of wisdom all atoned for, and serving their Great Master in their deaths better than they had served Him in their lives. With them perished, not as heretics, but as traitors, the three Romanizing priests. The united executions were designed as an evidence of the even hand of the council. The execution of traitors was not to imply an indulgence of heresy; the punishment of heretics should give no hope to those who were disloyal to their King and country. But scenes of such a kind were not repeated. The effect was to shock, not to edify.[1] The narrow theory could be carried out

July 30.

[1] The spectacle almost occasioned an outbreak in London, and shocked into momentary emotion the diplomatic indifference of Marillac:—

'Your Majesty will have heard of the execution of Master Cromwell and Lord Hungerford. Two days after, six more were put to death; three were hanged as traitors, Fetherstone, Abel, and Cook, late Prior of Doncaster, for having spoken in favour of the Pope; three were burnt as heretics, Garret, Jerome, and Doctor Barnes. It was a strange spectacle to see the adherents of two opposite parties die thus on the same day and at the same hour, and it was equally dis-

to both its cruel extremes only where a special purpose was working upon passions specially excited.

graceful to the two divisions of the Government who pretended to have received offence. The scene was as painful as it was monstrous. Both groups of sufferers were obstinate or constant; both alike complained of the mode of sentence under which they were condemned. They had never been called to answer for their supposed offences; and Christians under grace, they said, were now worse off than Jews under the law. The law would have no man die unless he were first heard in his defence, and Heathen and Christian, sage and emperor, the whole world, except England, observed the same rule.

'Here in England, if two witnesses will swear and affirm before the council that they have heard a man speak against his duty to his King, or contrary to the articles of religion, that man may be condemned to suffer death, with the pains appointed by the law, although he be absent or ignorant of the charge, and without any other form of proof. Innocence is no safeguard when such an opening is offered to malice or revenge. Corruption or passion may breed false witness; and the good may be sacrificed, and the wicked, who have sworn away their lives, may escape with impunity. There is no security for any man, unless the person accused is brought face to face with the witnesses who depose against him.

'Of the iniquity of the system no other evidence is needed than these executions just passed. One who suffered for treason declared that he had never spoken good or bad of the Pope's authority, nor could he tell how he had provoked the King's displeasure, unless it were, that ten years ago his opinion was required on the divorce of Queen Catherine, the Emperor's aunt, and he had said he considered her the King's lawful wife. The rest spoke equally firmly and equally simply, and such loud murmurs rose among the people, and their natural disposition to turbulence was so excited, that had there been any one to lead them, they would have broken out into dangerous sedition. Inquiries were made instantly into the origin of the riot. The names of those who have repeated the words of the sufferers have been demanded, and this, I suppose, will be made the occasion of a worse butchery. It is no easy thing to keep a people in revolt against the Holy See and the authority of the Church, and yet free from the infection of the new doctrines—or, on the other hand, if they remain orthodox, to prevent them from looking with attachment to the Papacy. But the council here will have neither the one nor the other. They will have their ordinances obeyed, however often they change them, and however little the people can comprehend what they are required to believe.' — Marillac to Francis I., Aug. 6, 1540: *MS. Bibliot. Impér. Paris.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

WHOEVER has attended but a little to the phenomena of human nature has discovered how inadequate is the clearest insight which he can hope to attain into character and disposition. Every one is a perplexity to himself and a perplexity to his neighbours; and men who are born in the same generation, who are exposed to the same influences, trained by the same teachers, and live from childhood to age in constant and familiar intercourse, are often little more than shadows to each other, intelligible in superficial form and outline, but divided inwardly by impalpable and mysterious barriers.

And if from those whom we daily meet, whose features are before our eyes, and whose minds we can probe with questions, we are nevertheless thus separated, how are the difficulties of the understanding increased when we are looking back from another age, with no better assistance than books, upon men who played their parts upon the earth under other outward circumstances, with other beliefs, other habits, other modes of thought, other principles of judgment! We see beings like ourselves,

and yet different from ourselves. Here they are acting upon motives which we comprehend; there, though we try as we will, no feeling will answer in unison. The same actions which at one time are an evidence of inhumanity may arise in another out of mercy and benevolence. Laws which, in the simpler stages of society, are rational and useful, become mischievous when the problem which they were meant to solve has been complicated by new elements. And as the old man forgets his childhood—as the grown man and the youth rarely comprehend each other—as the Englishman and the Frenchman, with the same reasoning faculties, do not reason to the same conclusions—so is the past a perplexity to the present; it lies behind us as an enigma, easy only to the vain and unthinking, and only half solved after the most earnest efforts of intellectual sympathy, alike in those who read and those who write.

Such an effort of sympathy, the strongest which can be made, I have now to demand on behalf of Scotland, that marvellous country so fertile in genius and chivalry, so fertile in madness and crime, where the highest heroism coexisted with preternatural ferocity; yet where the vices were the vices of strength, and the one virtue of indomitable courage was found alike in saint and sinner. Often the course of this history will turn aside from the broad river of English life to where the torrents are leaping, passion-swollen, down from the northern hills. It will open out many a scene of crime and terror; and again, from time to time, it will lead us up into the keen air, where the pleasant mountain breezes

are blowing, and the blue sky is smiling cheerily. But turn where it may in the story of Scotland, weakness is nowhere; power, energy, and will are everywhere. Sterile as the landscape where it will first unfold itself, we shall watch the current winding its way with expanding force and features of enlarging magnificence, till at length the rocks and rapids will have passed—the stream will have glided down into the plain to the meeting of the waters, from which, as from a new fountain, the united fortunes of Great Britain flow on to their unknown destiny.

Experience sufficiently stern had convinced the English Government that their northern neighbours would never stoop to the supremacy which they had inflicted upon Wales. The Welsh were Celts, a failing and inferior race. The lowland Scots were Teutons, like the Saxons; and a people who showed resolutely that they would die to the last man before they would acquiesce in servitude; that they might be exterminated, but could not be subdued. After the battle of Bannockburn the impossible task had been tacitly relinquished, and the separate existence of Scotland as an independent kingdom was no longer threatened. The effects of the attempts of the Edwards, nevertheless, survived their failure. The suspicions remained, though the causes had ceased; and though of the same race with the English, speaking the same language, and living for the most part under the same institutions, the Scots, as a security for their freedom, contracted a permanent alliance with 'the antient enemies' of their rivals across

the Channel, and settled into an attitude of determined, and only occasionally suspended, hostility against the 'Southrons.' For twenty miles on either side of the Border there grew up a population who were trained from their cradles in licensed marauding. Nominal amity between the two countries operated as but a slight check upon habits inveterately lawless; and though the Governments affected to keep order, they could not afford to be severe upon offences committed in time of peace, by men on whom they chiefly depended for the defence of the frontiers in war. The scanty families in the fortified farms and granges in Roxburgh and Northumberland slept with their swords under their pillows, and their horses saddled in their stables. The blood of the children by the fireside was stirred by tales of wild adventure in song and story; and perhaps for two centuries no boy ever grew to man's estate, along a strip of land forty miles across and joining the two seas, who had not known the midnight terror of a blazing homestead—who had not seen his father or brother ride out at dusk harnessed and belted for some night foray, to be brought back before morning gory and stark across his saddle, and been roused from his bed by his mother to swear with his child lips a vow of revenge over the corpse. And the fierce feuds of the moss-troopers were but an expression in its extreme form of the animosities between the two nations. The English hated Scotland because Scotland had successfully defied them: the Scots hated England as an enemy on the watch to make them slaves. The hereditary hos-

tility strengthened with time, and each generation added fresh injuries to the accumulation of bitterness.

Fortunately for mankind the relations between nations are not eventually determined by sentiment and passion. The mutual sufferings inflicted by the existing condition of things produced its effect in minds where reason was admitted to influence; and after the accession of the Tudors to the English throne there grew up in the princes and ministers of the new dynasty a desire to prepare the way for a union of the kingdoms. As more roads were opened, and intercourse between place and place became more easy, the geographical position of the two countries was more sensitively felt. Two nations in one small island must either be friends or they would eventually destroy each other; and in an intermittent period of quiet which followed the exposure of Perkin Warbeck's imposture, Henry VII. succeeded in arranging a marriage between the fourth James Stuart and his daughter Margaret. A commencement was thus happily formed, and a better feeling began to make its way. But the fair weather was of brief duration. On the breaking out of the war of 1513 between France and England, the usual overtures were made to the Scottish King from the Court of Paris. The old associations were appealed to with the usual success. Fatally for himself—fatally for his country—James invaded Northumberland in the absence of his brother-in-law, and Scotland paid for his fault in the defeat of Flodden, in which the King and the flower of the nobility perished miserably.

By this overwhelming blow the Scots were prostrated; and Henry VIII., returning from victory in France with an ample exchequer and the martial spirit of the English thoroughly roused, might with no great difficulty have repeated the successes of Edward I. He could have overrun the Lowlands, have stormed or starved out the fortresses and placed Southern garrisons in them, and thus have for the time provided one solution of the Scottish difficulty. But Henry profited by Edward's ultimate failures. He was aware that he might succeed for a time, but he was aware also that such success was really none; and he took advantage of the depression of the nation which followed Flodden rather to conciliate their friendship by forbearance than to pursue his advantage by force. The dead King had left two sons—the eldest, James V., then but two years old; the second an infant. In a Parliament held after the battle, the widowed Queen Margaret was declared Regent; the Government was re-established without interference from England, yet indirectly under English influence; and, by a judicious temperance at a critical time, the nucleus of a Southern party was formed at the Court which never after was wholly dissolved.

The time, however, was still far distant when the national enmity could even begin really to yield, and the French faction would, sooner or later, have recovered from the unpopularity which had followed upon their great disaster. A reaction at last could not have been avoided, but it arrived sooner than was anticipated through the conduct of the Queen Regent. Margaret

of England, whose life and behaviour reflect little credit either on her country or her lineage, within a year of her husband's death married the young Earl of Angus, the head of the house of Douglas.[1] Her tenure of power had been limited to her widowhood. The Scottish lords could not tolerate in one of themselves the position of husband of the Regent, and a second Parliament immediately pronounced her deposition, and called in as her successor the late King's cousin, the Duke of Albany, who, in the event of the deaths of the two princes, stood next in blood to the Crown. Albany, who had lived from his infancy on the Continent—French in his character and French in his sympathies—brought with him a revolution inimical in every way to English interests. His conduct soon gave rise to the gravest alarm. The royal children were taken from the custody of their mother, who with her husband was obliged for a time to find refuge in England; and the Duke of Rothsay, the younger of the two, dying immediately after, suspicions of murder were naturally aroused. The prince was openly said to have been assassinated; the remaining brother who lay between Albany and the Crown it was expected would soon follow; and a tragedy would be repeated which England as well as Scotland had too lately witnessed.[2]

1515.

[1] Flodden was fought September the 9th, 1513. Margaret's second marriage was on the 9th of August, 1514.

[2] 'In like manner as one of the royal princes has been put to death, so also will he (the King of France) rid himself of the only one remaining, in order that the Duke of Albany may inherit the kingdom.'—GIUSTINIANI's *Letters from the Court of Henry VIII.*, vol. i. p. 110.

The sustained and powerful remonstrances of Henry at the Court of France at length produced an effect. Albany remained nominally Regent, and French garrisons were maintained in Dunbar and Dumbarton; but he was obliged to leave Scotland. Margaret and her husband had previously been enabled to return, and the country was governed by a congress of deputies, consisting of Angus, the Earls of Arran, Huntley, and Argyle, and the Archbishops of St Andrew's and Glasgow. This arrangement was a compromise which could be of no long continuance. The Archbishop of St Andrew's, James Beton, was devoted to France; Angus was true to England; while in spite of a superficial reconciliation, a blood-feud, deep and ineffaceable, divided the Douglases and the Hamiltons. For centuries the law in Scotland had been too weak to reach the heads of powerful clans or families. The great nobles avenged their own injuries by their own swords; and, where justice could only be executed by crime, each act of violence provoked fresh retaliation. A plot was laid by the Earl of Arran, supported by Beton, to seize Angus in Edinburgh. The latter had with him but a small train of half-armed followers, not more than eighty or a hundred; but they were all knights and gentlemen; they were popular in the city; and, when the fray commenced, the citizens, seeing them defending themselves with their swords, reached them lances out of the windows.[1] The Douglases gained the advantage; and after

[1] CALDERWOOD'S *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 62.

a severe skirmish, in which Sir Patrick Hamilton, Arran's brother, was killed, the defeated Earl and his confederates escaped for their lives, and Angus remained master of the field and of the Government.

But the oscillations of fortune were rapid, and again Queen Margaret's conduct was the cause of a change most adverse to the interests which she ought to have defended. She had married hastily, and as hastily grown weary of her choice. She had allowed the Duke of Albany, after her return from England, to steal his way into her affections.[2] She had exposed herself to dishonourable remarks, which she shaped her behaviour laboriously to justify; and failing, through the bad terms on which she had placed herself with Angus, to recover her authority as Regent, she united with the faction of the defeated lords, and wrote to the King of France, entreating him, if he valued the regard of the people, to restore the Duke. 1521.

Francis at once acquiesced. He was himself on the edge of a rupture with England. The opportunity of securing his old allies was not to be neglected; and again the Duke of Albany appeared in Edinburgh. The old Scotch jealousies were blown into flame. The cry was raised that the country was betrayed to slavery

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[1] 'The quene, by evill and senistre counseill, is mekill inclinet to the pleasure of the duke in al maner of thingis, and are never sundrie, but every day to gidre owther forrowe nowe or after, and as it is supposed he is intendit a divorse betwix the Earl of Angus and the quene. In manner they set not by who know it; and if I durst say it for fear of displeasure of my sovereign, they are over tendre.' — ELLIS, second series, vol. i. p. 285.

by the Douglas; and, as the Regent resumed his power, Angus was again banished. The revolution was complete, but, as before, it was transient. Henry treated the reappearance of so dangerous a person as a breach of an engagement with himself. He despatched a herald to require the Duke's departure, and the demand being disregarded, he refused to acknowledge a peace with Scotland while Scotland acknowledged Albany. The Borders on both sides were wasted with the usual recklessness; the Regent levied an army to invade England. But he was one of those imbecile persons who can take no advantage of the turns of fortune; his musters forsook him as incapable; and a truce being arranged for a few months, he stole away once more into France for direction and assistance.

His weakness in the midst of danger, and his haste to escape from it, slackened the enthusiasm which had been raised for him; Henry took the opportunity of his absence to make another effort at conciliation. Preparing for either alternative which the Scots might prefer, he sent Lord Surrey to the Border with ten thousand men, while, with a practical and statesmanlike moderation, he followed his father's policy, and offered them an alliance which, had it been accepted, would have been a noble termination of the quarrel. The vanity of the weaker nation might be flattered with the thought that they had given a king to their haughty neighbours. Henry at that time possessed but a single daughter. He proposed that she should be betrothed to James, and the uncertainties of the succession might be determined at

once and for ever. Should the Princess Mary die, and the Scottish sovereign claim to inherit as a right, every English sword would be drawn to resist him; could the betrothal be arranged, he might come in peaceably under a parliamentary sanction, and the enmity of centuries would terminate in the union of the Crowns. 'It was not his fault,' Henry wrote to the Scottish council, 'that there was not perpetual amity between the two kingdoms;' he was not seeking to gratify any poor ambition. He desired nothing but the real welfare of Scotland; and 'the Scots, if they accepted his proposal, would not come over to the Government of the English, but the English to that of the Scots.'[1]

Although the Earl of Angus was in exile, there were statesmen in Edinburgh not wholly deaf to reasonable arguments. In a discussion of the English overtures, it was admitted that, after all, the Scots and English were one people, 'born in the same island, brought up under the same climate, agreeing in language, manners, laws, and customs.' They were rather one nation than two, while they differed from the French in soil and climate, and character. The hostility of France could not injure Scotland; the friendship of France could scarcely be of benefit to her; while England must be either her most valuable ally or most dangerous enemy. But although reason could make itself heard, sentiment was still too strong for it. Constant, like the English, to their traditionary habits, the

[1] Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 138.

majority of the Edinburgh convention adhered to their foreign associations; and their patriotism was judiciously kept alive by gratuities and pensions.[1] Prudence was thrust aside. The Estates remained faithful to Albany and to Francis, and defied Henry to do his worst against them. The Duke meanwhile had transferred his inclination to a fresh mistress. Margaret, jealous and exasperated, was no longer under a temptation to be false to her brother, and kept the Earl of Surrey informed of the disposition of the nobility. They were careless, she said, of the hurt which he might do upon the Borders, knowing that the Borderers could retaliate in kind. She urged his advance upon Edinburgh, where a thousand men with artillery would make the Parliament vote as he pleased.[2] The military judgment of Margaret was on a par perhaps with the rest of her understanding. Surrey, besides, was unprovided with stores or means of transport for so long an expedition. Instead of marching on Edinburgh, he confined himself to the districts which paid habitually

[1] 'Ye know how the lords are blinded with the Duke of Albany for gifts of benefices (and all is at his gifts), and that he gives to hold them at his opinion with part of money that the French King sendeth them at his request.' — *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 3.

[2] The immediate object was to liberate the young King from the control of Albany's faction. 'The lords set not by the hurt of poor folks, but laugh at the same,' wrote Margaret. 'Wherefore, my lord, either come to Edinburgh, or near about it, and I shall take upon me that the lords shall send to you and make offer themselves and put forth the King: for I assure you a 1000 men with artillery may do with Edinburgh and the lords in the same as they will. And failing of this ye will neither get the King forth nor yet the band of France destroyed. —*State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 26.

for the nation's offences. He carried fire and sword through Teviotdale, as soon as the harvest had been gathered in, and could be utterly destroyed; he burnt Jedburgh, and remained for some days within the Scotch frontier wasting and pillaging. September.

At length, in October, Albany came back in high hopes and confidence, this time bringing with him six thousand French men-at-arms.[1] The exasperation of the people with the English increased the cordiality with which he was received, and hastily placing himself at the head of as large a force as could be collected, he marched immediately to the Borders, expecting, or being expected, to revenge Jedburgh and destroy Surrey. But Albany was a man who carried failure written in his very demeanour. 'When he doth hear anything contrarious to his pleasures,' Lord Surrey said, 'his manner is to take his bonnet suddenly off his head and throw it in the fire. My Lord Dacre doth affirm that at his being last in Scotland he did burn above a dozen bonnets in that manner.' This was not a temper to cope successfully with the ablest of living generals. 'If he be such a man,' Surrey wisely judged, 'with God's grace, we shall speed the better with him.'[2] October.

The weather was foul. . . . . Snow had already fallen heavily, and the rivers were swollen and dangerous; but Surrey's name was a talisman in the northern counties. . . . Lord Dorset, Lord Latimer, the Earl of

[1] BUCHANAN, vol. ii.

[2] The Earl of Surrey to Wolsey: ELLIS, first series, vol. i. pp. 226, 227.

Northumberland, Darcy, Clifford, and all the gentlemen of Yorkshire hastened to the rescue. The musters of Lancashire, Cheshire, Nottingham, and Derby were not far behind: a second Flodden was looked for—an action so considerable as should decide the fate of Scotland for the lifetime of the existing generation.[1] The only fear in the English camp was that Albany's courage would fail him. The Scotch army came down upon the Tweed opposite Newark, which was held by Sir William Lisle and a small garrison. The river was high, but Albany had guns with him, which played on the castle across the water. A detachment of the French came over in boats, and, under cover of the fire, attempted to storm.[2] They were beaten off with loss; and an express having been sent off to Surrey, the

[1] 'Of likelihood no man living shall ever see the Scots attempt to invade this realm with the powers of Scotland if they be well resisted now.'—ELLIS, first series, vol. i. pp. 226, 227.

[2] 'The Duke sent over 2000 Frenchmen in boats to give assault to the place, who with force entered the base court, and by Sir William Lisle, captain of the castle, with a hundred with him, were right manfully defended by the space of one hour and a half, without suffering them to enter the inner ward, but finally the said Frenchmen entered the inner ward, which perceived, the said Sir William and his company freely set upon them, and not only drove them out of the inner ward, but also out of the outer ward, and slew of the said Frenchmen ten persons; and so the said Frenchmen went over the water.'—The Earl of Surrey to Henry VIII.: ELLIS, first series, vol. i. p. 233. In a subsequent letter to Wolsey the Earl says: 'At the assault of Newark the captain of the first band of French footmen that came into Scotland was slain, with nine more with him; and the same night died twenty-two more, and eight score sore hurt. I assure your Grace never men did better than they within the castle did, which were but one hundred; and there was within the base court above a thousand Frenchmen and five hundred Scots.'—*State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 52.

whole English power came up with forced marches. 'In all my life,' said the gallant Earl, 'I never saw so many Englishmen so well willed as those who were with me, from the highest to the lowest.'

The Scots were as eager as their enemies. 'The gentlemen of the Border' gathered about Albany, entreating him to do something worthy of his mighty preparations, and give them their revenge for their wasted harvests and blackened villages. But at the prospect of a general action the Duke's cowardice was too much for him. An order was issued for retreat; and, in their rage and disappointment, 'the said gentlemen being evil contented,' tore the badges of their craven Regent from their breasts, and dashed them on the ground. 'By God's blood,' they cried, 'we will never serve you more. Would to God we were all sworn English.'[1]

Albany's disgrace was followed by universal disruption. Henry again offered peace, on condition of his expulsion; while the Regent and his friends imagined measure after measure, which they wanted resolution to execute. But their despair was dangerous; and in the failure of their open policy they were tempted to fall back upon crime. The Queen sent warning that the life of the young King was in danger.[2] In the beginning of December it was expected either that he would be poisoned

November.

December.

[1] Surrey to Wolsey: *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 52.

[2] 'I see great appearance of evil and danger to the King my son's person, when that they that are true lords to the King my son be put

or that Albany would carry him away to France.[1] On the 27th a stormy council was held at Stirling, where Albany attempted his usual shift in difficulty, and required five months' leave of absence to go to Paris. This time the nobles refused to be left to bear the consequences of the Regent's weakness. If he went again, his departure should be final; nor should he depart at all, unless the French garrisons were withdrawn. The Duke, 'in marvellous great anger and foam,' agreed to remain; but his cause sank daily, and misfortunes thickened about him. He was without the means to support the French auxiliaries, they were obliged to shift as they could for their own security. Some escaped to their own country; others, sent away in unseaworthy vessels, were driven among the Western Islands, engaged in piracy, and were destroyed in detail.[2] At length, for the last time, on the 20th of May, Albany turned his back upon the country with which he had connected himself only to his own and others' misery. He sailed away, and came again no more.

May.

The friends of the English alliance were now re-

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from him; and them that loveth the governour put to him, and that I know perfectly would have my son destroyed for the pleasure of the Duke.'—Queen Margaret to Surrey: *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 57.

[1] Surrey to Wolsey: ibid. p. 63.

[2] 'A party of the Frenchmen that the said Duke despatched home again into France, were found in the out isles of Scotland, driven with stormy weather, and many of them were famished for lack of victuals, and the residue of them made war in the said out isles for getting of victuals to sustain them with, and so there were famished and killed of them there to the number of four or five hundred.'—Dacre to Wolsey: *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 70.

covering the ascendant. The young King was twelve years old. It was concerted between Margaret and Henry that the minority should be considered at this point to have expired. No fresh regency should be established, and the Government should be conducted in the King's own name. James was in Stirling Castle, virtually a prisoner in the hands of the Duke of Albany's friends. Henry wrote to him with encouragement and promises of help; and the queen-mother, pressing to know explicitly to what extent she might rely on support from England if she attempted a *coup d'état*, was told that she might expect unlimited assistance in men, in money, and in advice, which she equally needed. This was enough. On the 26th of July she escaped through Stirling gates, carrying her son with her, and made her way to Edinburgh. A convention of the lords was immediately summoned; and with almost unanimous consent they pronounced the Regent deposed, and swore fealty to the King. The Archbishop of St Andrew's and the Bishop of Aberdeen, who alone remained constant to France, were committed to custody in Edinburgh Castle. Negotiations were at once set on foot for the betrothal of James and the Princess Mary, and now at length all obstacles seemed to be removed, and quarrels five centuries old promised to be finally buried.

July.

Scotland has suffered much from vicious queens. The licentiousness of a profligate woman was permitted to spoil the opportunity and obscure the clearing sky. The Earl of Angus, on hearing of the revolution, left

France, and repaired with his brother, Sir George Douglas, to the English Court, preparatory to his return to his own country. Margaret, whose honour had already once been compromised, had again, in the first giddiness of her success, committed herself in such a manner as to make the reappearance of her husband the worst of misfortunes. She had surrounded herself with a circle of frivolous young men, the most worthless of whom, Henry Stewart, afterwards Lord Methuen, she had chosen as her peculiar favourite. Careless alike of her good name, her interest, or even of ordinary decency, she dared to write to her brother, threatening that, if Angus was again forced upon her, she would turn elsewhere for help before she would allow him 'to trouble her in her living.'[1] She affected to colour her objections with stories of Angus's injuries to herself, and of his unpopularity with the nobles. Her *liaison* with Stewart being as yet a secret from the world, the English Government did not understand the motive of her urgency: they were anxious to avoid fresh complications or difficulties; and Wolsey replied that, if the return of Angus was so distasteful to her, he would find some pretext to detain him in London till affairs had settled down into a more regular train. At the particular moment both Henry and his minister were desirous to be on good terms with the queen-mother, in the hope that through her influence they might obtain possession of the persons of the two imprisoned bishops,

[1] *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 83.

whose French tendencies they dreaded, and for whom Berwick appeared a more secure place of confinement than Edinburgh.'[1]

This, however, was not easy. Margaret was now the instrument of her paramour, and politically was again not to be depended on. She pretended, and perhaps with justice, that the Scotch council would never entrust to the English Government the custody of their own State-prisoners; but she was entangled in her private intrigues, and Methuen and his friends preferred to retain in their hands the means of making themselves formidable. The Earl of Surrey, now Duke of Norfolk, began to comprehend the Queen's character, and with the assistance of spies to understand her motives. So far from Angus being unpopular, he ascertained that half the realm would take his part if he returned, and he suggested to Wolsey that it would be well if a priest could be found to give Margaret some wholesome counsel. She was playing an underhand game with the Hamiltons in order to be secured from her husband; 'the grudge was universal against her for her ungodly living' and open infidelity.[2] The extent of her fault was even yet scarcely credited at the English Court; but at least it was not thought desirable to detain Angus longer. Both he and his brother were impatient to be again in Scotland. The Earl promised Henry that he would not force himself into his sister's presence without her consent; that in any disputes

September.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. iv. pp. 122—130.

[2] Norfolk to Wolsey: *State Papers*, vol. iv. pp. 146—149.

which might arise with her he would submit to be guided by the English Government, he would forget his personal feuds and quarrels, and would bend himself wholly to carry out the policy which he had learnt to be best for his country. Sir George Douglas accepted the same obligations, and under these engagements the brothers repaired to the Border to the English camp, and Norfolk was directed to interpose no obstacle in the way of their return.

And in Scotland there was no little need of the presence of honourable men. The nobles were playing severally their own game for their own advantage. Such government as existed was conducted by the Earl of Arran and the Queen; the Hamiltons were altogether French; and Margaret, in whom hatred of her husband and an infatuated passion for Methuen had superseded every other consideration, had fallen off, as she had threatened, in the same direction. As soon as she was assured that Angus was really on his way, she threw off all concealment. She wrote insolently to the Duke of Norfolk, saying that the King of England might act as he pleased, but he would do wisely to consider other interests besides the pleasure of Lord Angus; 'and as to my part,' she added, 'if his desires be more regarded than mine, I will labour no more to the pleasure of the King my brother, but look the best way I may for myself.'[1] Acting upon her menace, she released the imprisoned prelates from the

October 6.

[1] 'Queen Margaret to the Duke of Norfolk: *State Papers*, vol. iv. pp. 167, 168.'

Castle: David Beton, the nephew of the Archbishop of St Andrew's, was accredited to the Court of France: again the stone which had been dragged with so much labour to the crest of the hill, was bounding helplessly back into the plain.

Opposition of policy in Scotland generally, when it grew hot, took the form of an attempt at assassination. Before the approaching return of the Douglases had been announced, the Earls of Lennox, Argyle, Murray, and Glencairn, the leaders in the absence of Angus of the English faction, informed the Duke of Norfolk that, if he was detained any further, they did not intend to tolerate the present scandalous Government. Angus, if he came, could give peace to Scotland;[1] but, peace or no peace, there should be a change of some kind. They might have waited his arrival but for the haste of the Queen. The liberation of the bishops, however, put an end to their forbearance. Lennox collected five hundred horse three miles from Edinburgh. They had scaling ladders ready prepared, and the intention was to surprise Holyrood and kill Arran, and probably Methuen. The design was well laid, and would in all likelihood have succeeded, but it was betrayed by the treachery of a confederate; a certain 'unhappy James Pringle,' as Norfolk called him, in deep regret at the

[1] 'The noblemen and commons do much desire the amity of England, and the commons universally hate the Duke of Albany of all men living. The Earl of Angus is desired universally amongst them.'—Norfolk, Dacre, and Magnus to Wolsey: *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 188.

failure, 'let a good deed to have been done for the welfare of Scotland and of England.' [1]

Lennox having missed his aim, the Government sat the firmer in their seats for it, especially as having earned the support of the Church by the release of the Archbishop. Dr Magnus, an English diplomatist, had been sent by Henry to observe and report on his sister's conduct and, if possible, reconcile her with her husband. He reached Edinburgh at the end of October, and on the 1st of November was admitted to an interview. In the opening conversation Margaret was tolerably moderate, and Magnus had hopes that, after all, he might win her back to some sense of propriety; but he soon found the uselessness of his labour. The day following he reported that she was clean gone from all her first concessions. 'A certain young man' was at the bottom of the change; she would listen to no advice except it was approved by Methuen, with whom she was so infatuated as to have induced the King to make over to him the seals of State and all such powers as went along with them.[2] Methuen was devoted to Arran and Archbishop Beton, and Arran and the Archbishop were devoted to France. Margaret was thus wholly committed to the faction most inimical to England; supported by the whole ecclesiastical strength of Scotland, the ruling faction believed that they could defy her brother with im-

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[1] Norfolk to Wolsey: *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 189.

[2] 'He keepeth, as is said, all the seals, and ordereth all causes in such a manner as is without any other counsel either of wisdom, honour, or reputation.'—Magnus to Wolsey: *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 215.

punity, and to feel the real temper of the people they summoned the Estates to meet at Edinburgh on the 15th of November.

Henry was profoundly angry. The behaviour of the queen-mother, he said, 'sounded openly to her extreme reproach and the blemishing of the royal house and blood whereof she descended. He accounted her rather like an unnatural and transformed person than like a noble princess or a woman of wisdom or honour.'[1] For the present, however, he was forced to leave events to their own course, and to wait for the effect of the restoration of the Douglases. The French faction only among the nobility answered to the call of the camarilla; those exclusively who shared their schemes and sympathies. The remainder, either acting under Angus's advice or because they disdained to pay even outward obedience to the authority which had summoned them, held a separate convention by themselves, and prepared to assert their influence in a more effective manner. The Parliament had sat for eleven days. On the 26th of November, Angus, Lennox, the Laird of Buccleugh, and several hundred followers, scaled the walls of Edinburgh at four in the morning. They took possession of the gates, and when the day broke, the citizens, looking out into the twilight, saw the dark mass of horsemen drawn up in arms at the cross before St Giles's Church. The two Earls were come (so ran their manifesto) to claim their rights, their

November.

[1] Wolsey to Norfolk: ibid. p. 219.

place, and privileges as barons of the realm. They presented themselves before the council, protesting against the faction by whom the King was governed; and saying that they had come thus into the city 'to do no displeasure to any person,' but to invite the nobility to put an end to a shameful scandal.

The Queen was at Holyrood. It was expected every moment that she would set the Castle guns playing upon her husband's followers; and Dr Magnus, at the entreaty of the council, hastened down to anticipate the danger. He found the palace in confusion: dense throngs of men were arming and preparing their horses. He pushed his way into Margaret's presence, but she ordered him at once to be gone, and not to meddle in matters of no concern to him. A moment after the heavy boom of a cannon told him that the order had been given. The shot was intended for the Douglases, but it was ill-aimed. Two tradesmen, a priest, and a woman were killed by it; and the mistake was more effective than the English minister in preventing a fresh experiment.[1] All day the two parties lay watching one

[1] This disaster was the occasion of an Act of Parliament in the session which followed. 'It is statut and ordanit that for sa mekle as the lords of counsale and utheris our Soverane Lord's lieges resortand and repairand to the toun of Edinburgh may be invadit, pursewit, or trublit be evill avisit persouns being in the Castell of Edinburgh be schot of gun, that therefore the capitain of the said castell suffirs na gunis to be schot furth of the samin to the hurt, damage or skaith of ony of our Soverane Lord's lieges: ne that he suffirs nane of the artilyery gunis, pulder, bullets, or uther municiouns now being in the castell forsaid to be remuvit furth of the samyn to ony uther place, bot be the avise and comand of the lords chosin of counsale under the pane of treasoun.

another, each waiting to be attacked. At dusk Angus withdrew to Dalkeith, and amidst the glare of torches the Queen and the young King were seen sweeping up out of the palace, behind the stronger shelter of the Castle wall.[1] Civil war appeared to be imminent; but, happily, civil wars are not always possible; and where a nation is to suffer, the passions of the nation must first be interested in the quarrel. The French and English factions were each of them strong; but neither was the French nor the English feeling so strong as to make a compromise impossible. Money and promises had been freely distributed by Francis.[2] Angus hesitated at drawing the sword openly against his wife; and Margaret consented to be reconciled to him if he would agree to a divorce. Anxious for entire possession of Methuen, she contrived a plea that her first husband was alive at the time of her second marriage, which was therefore of no validity.[3] The ecclesiastical courts accepted the extraordinary story as the ground of a suit; and the technical difficulties could be overcome the more easily, if the husband offered no opposition. Peace was

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And that na gunaris pass to the Castell of Edinburgh without command and charge of the said lords under the pane of deit.'—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 290.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 258.

[2] 'The French King will give unto her Grace (the queen-mother), to be of favourable inclination to his desire, a great country in France; and the said King hath sent great sums of money to the lords.'—*State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 283.

[3] 'The Queen's Grace sueth fast for a divorce between her said Grace and the Earl of Angus, surmitting her cause to be that she was married to the said Earl, the late King of Scots her husband being alive, and that the same King was living three years after the field of Flodden.'—Magnus to Wolsey: ibid. p. 385.

thus possible; but at the price of increasing scandal to the queen-mother. Perhaps her profligacy had become too patent for endurance; perhaps her interest was becoming of less importance. At any rate, as the factions drew together, even the Archbishop of St Andrew's consented to unite with Angus and Argyle in a representation to Henry on the character of the person whom his sister allowed to associate with the King, with an entreaty that, if his mother was to remain in authority, she should consent to have 'discreet and honourable persons appointed for the high offices of State and for the chairs of the judges.'[1] Margaret herself had almost resolved upon concessions. She ventured on one last effort to escape the hard necessity. Her husband and Lennox remained at Dalkeith: she implored the Earl of Cassilis and Lord Murray to attack and destroy them. But the two lords refused to undertake a crime which had no object but the gratification of a woman's revenge: she agreed to treat; and while the terms were being discussed, the Edinburgh citizens, on the 14th of February, shortened the debate by throw-

1525. January.

[1] 'Our Sovereign Lady the Queen now taking and having the care and guideship of her son, as well of his most noble person as of his rents and profits, is by certain indisposed persons, not able nor worthy sic any charge, so misguided that her Grace, in all matters concerning the commonwealth, proceeds upon will and not upon reason; where through our said Sovereign Lord is drawn and inclined to mischiefs and unvertuous usages; and therewith justice is all entirely neglected; slaughters, murders, reiffs, depredations, and other crimes are common, and many committed about the place of their residences, and no correction nor punition is made therefore,' &c.—Beton, Angus, Argyle, Lennox, &c., to Henry VIII.; *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 312.

ing open their gates and inviting Angus's presence among them. Three weeks of consultation terminated, at last, in the formation of a Council of Eight, who should govern Scotland in the King's name under the nominal presidency of the Queen. The Church was represented by the two Archbishops of St Andrew's and Glasgow, the Bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblane; the half-reconciled parties among the nobles by Angus and Lennox, Arran and Argyle.

The friends of England, though not absolute, were thus once more of considerable weight; and the future relations of the two countries could now be deliberated on with a hope of settlement. As yet so much as a formal peace had not been concluded. The war had closed with a truce which, as it expired, had been renewed for limited periods. The final treaty had been postponed till it could be conceived upon a basis which promised perpetuity. The proposals of Henry were brought forward by Dr Magnus. With his 'poor reasonings' he dwelt 'upon the nigh marching together of the two realms within one isle, and of one speech and language;' upon 'the proximity in blood between the King's Highness of England and the young King his tender nephew;' upon 'the said young King's possibility of inheritance to the two crowns;' and, finally, upon 'the great likelihood he had to be preferred afore all others to the marriage of the lady princess, if favourably and in loving manner his Grace could and would use him towards the King his uncle.' These points at once invited union, and showed the possibility

of it; but the outstanding differences, Magnus urged, if they were to be settled satisfactorily, must be settled between themselves without the intervention of a third party; and he desired the new council, as an evidence of their good intentions, to agree at once to a perpetual peace with England, in which France should not be comprehended.[1]

March. Scotland was as much interested as the sister kingdom in the acceptance of the English minister's overtures; but the necessary confidence was still, as it seemed, impossible; and 'there was a great personage, neither favourable in word nor countenance.'[2] The Bishop of Aberdeen replied in the name of the council. He declined to consider Henry's political philosophy, confining himself to facts. He desired security before his country would commit itself to a treaty. Let the marriage between their young King and the Princess Mary, which was held out to them as a temptation, be converted into a fact—let there be a formal and legal betrothal—and then, he said, 'the whole realm of Scotland was minded and inclined utterly to abandon and leave France, and wholly to be conjoined with England. . . . Else, remembering their old leagues with France, continued by the space of five or six hundred years, it was thought to the lords of Scotland to be greatly to the reproach of their honour to agree to peace, either perpetual or temporal.'[3] Neither Government would venture a step upon trust.

[1] Magnus to Wolsey: *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 335.
[2] Evidently Margaret.—*State Papers*, vol. iv. [3] Ibid.

The King of England required evidence of a sincere desire for peace on the part of the Scotch before he would determine the succession to the English throne in favour of his nephew. The Scotch would not sacrifice their old allies till the bargain which was to purchase them was concluded beyond recall.[1]

The Edinburgh council were immovable; and delay could not now be avoided, for three years must pass before James would be of age to be a party to a valid contract. The immediate difficulty of the unsettled war was disposed of by a treaty of peace to last for that time. When the three years were expired the whole question should be re-opened. Possibly the temper of Scotland would not have permitted a more satisfactory conclusion; but the young James, weary to his heart of the heartburnings and quarrels which surrounded him, told Magnus he wished he was in England with the King his uncle.

Something had been gained in this negotiation. A partial respect had been paid to good sense; and the principles had been acknowledged—at least outwardly and in a limited degree—which ought to govern the counsels of the two kingdoms. But no sooner was the treaty determined than the lords and gentlemen made haste to indemnify themselves for their temporary interval of sanity. The English minister found himself, he knew not why, an object of general suspicion. The fall of the year was wild and wet, the

October.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. iv.

harvest was in danger, and a rumour went abroad that Magnus was an enchanter who in years past, by a diabolic art, had blighted the vines in France and Flanders, and had now overlooked Scotland with an evil eye. As he walked through the streets of Edinburgh the women 'banned, cursed, and wirried' him and his servants 'openly to their faces; and gave them the most grievous maledictions that could be.' He entreated to be allowed to return home at once, and abide no longer 'in that cumbrous country where ever was confusion without trust, disdain, slander, malice, and cruelty, without virtue, or dread of God or man.'[1]

The departure of the ambassador was a signal for the dissolution of the short-lived coalition. In the caprices of passion and humour we look vainly for any guiding principle. Every one did what was right in his own eyes, and his estimate both of interest and fitness varied from day to day. In the beginning of 1526 Arran and Angus quarrelled. Angus, supported now by Archbishop Beton, kept possession of the Government and the person of the King. Then James, instructed by his mother, complained that he was held in thraldom, and threw himself on the loyalty of the nobles. The friends of Angus fell off; but he was still powerful. Sir George Douglas kept guard at the King's door night and day, to prevent an attempt at capture. Suddenly the partners changed in the game. On the 2nd of September Angus and Arran had been reconciled; Lennox and

1526.

September.

[1] Magnus to Wolsey: *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 406.

the Archbishop had dropped away to the party of France, and the feud of the Hamiltons with the Lennoxes bursting into sudden flame, there was a battle at Linlithgow, where Lennox himself was killed, with the Abbots of Melrose and Dunfermline, the brother and nephew of the primate, and two Stewarts, brothers of the worthless Methuen.[1] Anarchy now followed. Gordon of Lochinvar killed the Laird of Bumbie at the door of St Giles's church, and though Parliament was sitting, appeared openly in the streets, unchallenged by any one.[2] Angus, with his English friends, was able at intervals to maintain, by mere violence, some shadow of authority; but order was limited to places immediately controlled by his own dependents. The will of every man was every man's law—the tribunal of justice his inclination—the executive government his own arm and sword. The sister island remained the ideal of confusion, but Scotland was earning rapidly the secondary merit of successful imitation.

Angus continued dominant till the summer of 1528. In the spring of that year the Court of Rome, which at the moment, we are assured by Catholic historians, was engaged in defending the sacredness of matrimony against the licentious demands of Henry VIII., gave its sanction, nevertheless, to the most impudent request for a divorce ever prosecuted in a court of justice:[3] and forth-

1528.

April 2.

[1] Magnus to Wolsey: *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 458.

[2] Sir Christopher Dacre to Lord Dacre; ibid. p. 46.

[3] The divorce of Margaret from the Earl of Angus, demanded, as I have said, on the plea of the legend of the escape of James IV. from

with the Queen married Methuen, and shut herself up with him in Stirling Castle. The dismissed husband was able partially to revenge this final insult to his honour. He surrounded Stirling, compelled Methuen to surrender, and threw him into prison.[1] But it was the last effort of his waning power, and precipitated his fall. The Archbishop of St Andrew's supported the dignity of the Church's judgment; and the united strength of the ecclesiastics proved always, in the long run, too much for the resistance of a section of the divided lords. A revolution followed, which restored Margaret and her lover to each other's arms, and replaced James in their edifying custody. With the assistance of the bishops, and of every one with whose self-indulgent tendencies the late Government had interfered, they recovered an absolute superiority. An assembly called a Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 2nd of September, composed of the personal enemies of the Earl of Angus. The two Douglases, Sir George and the Earl, were accused of having betrayed their country to the English, and were attainted of treason. Their lands were confiscated, and given away among the profligate companions of the Queen's paramour.

Angus did not yield without an effort. He fell

Flodden, was not huddled over in a provincial court in Scotland. It was decided in Italy after two years' deliberation, with all the usual solemnities.—*State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 491. The moderate surprise which I experienced on reading the speeches of Roman Catholic members of Parliament in the late debate on the Divorce Bill was increased to wonder at the silence with which the assertions of the purity of the Papal courts were allowed to pass unchallenged.

[1] Lord Dacre to Wolsey: *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 490.

back upon the Castle of Tantallon, where he was followed by Margaret's friends. Once he sallied out, drove off his besiegers, and seized their artillery. But his means were small; and two years of power had exhausted his popularity. The commons had found him scarcely better able to maintain order than his predecessors, and saw no reason to risk their lives or properties in his defence. Henry vainly interceded for him; and the French alliance being at that moment of importance to himself, he could not impair its stability by declaring war against the friends of France in Scotland. Angus therefore gave way to necessity. He retired a second time into exile; and the nation settled back into its old suspiciousness, which it disguised under the name of independence.

James meanwhile was growing towards manhood, and with his increasing years assumed in full proportions the distinguishing characteristics of his countrymen. He was brave, high-spirited, and chivalrous; but he was moved generally by sentiment, rarely guided by judgment. In the miserable examples which surrounded him he learnt early the lesson of licentiousness, as well as the easy terms which he could secure for his indulgences, by devotion to the Church and to orthodoxy. He was possessed of every quality which interests without commanding respect. Like the rest of his unfortunate family, he seemed to be formed by nature to choose the wrong side—to pursue a conduct fatal to himself and mischievous to Scotland; yet, at the worst, retaining the affection even of those

who regarded his career with the saddest displeasure.

Inevitably, being what he was, when the ruffle of the Reformation arose in England, James inclined to the Papacy. As the English were then on friendly terms with France, their antagonism, diverted from its old quarter, was directed against the Pope and the Emperor: the King of Scotland, therefore, or his advisers, followed with a corresponding opposition. The Emperor humoured his new friend with the prospect of an alliance. The Queen Regent of the Netherlands was suggested to the boy-bridegroom as a venerable wife; and although James continued to write respectfully to his uncle, his efforts were all bent steadily, in a mischievous direction, towards the revival of the animosities which Henry had so temperately laboured to overcome. The sea, from the Humber to the Forth, was infested with Scotch pirates; the rough night-riders of the Borders perceived the leanings of the Court, and were swift to indulge in excesses for which they assured themselves of impunity. Still Henry continued patient, till James arrived at an age when he could be treated as responsible; and then, at last, he wrote to him a letter of moderate remonstrance,[1] following it up with the despatch of a herald, for special complaint on the disorders of the Marches, and with the following message, which ought to have been received as it was intended. 'The herald,' so the King said, 'need use no accumulation of words, save only to put his nephew in remembrance,

1531.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 576.

and to exhort him, like a wise young prince, to look upon the King his uncle's deeds towards him, and consider whether they had tended to kindness or not; adding thereunto, the sort and fashion how his nephew and his realm have demeaned themselves again towards his Highness. Which things well pondered by wise men, it shall be facile to perceive whether to the King's Highness can be asserted the least scruple or spark of the name of an unkind uncle, or whether the King of Scots, laying apart the excuses of minority, might be suspected with the name of an unkind nephew. Wherein shall need no further rehearsal, seeing that the King's very trust is that, like as his said dearest nephew increaseth and groweth in years of knowledge and wisdom, so he will and shall more and more perceive and better discern the King's many and many gratuities past.'[1]

November.

The spirit which is here expressed was that which uniformly dictated Henry's early behaviour to James. But the nature of the young King was a destiny to him. He perhaps had no deliberate desire to quarrel with England; but he listened instinctively to the advisers who most sought to make the quarrel perpetual. The cause of nationality was identified now with the cause of the faith, and Henry was far off, and the Catholic clergy were on the spot. The Spanish alliance was eagerly courted. Instead of seeking for a recognition of his place on the line of suc-

[1] *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 590.

cession to the English crown from the English Parliament, he boasted in public of a promise which the Emperor had made to him, of the title of Duke of York. He fell into correspondence with the Irish rebels, and allowed McConnell of the Isles to cross over to them with assistance. At length, in the winter of 1532-3, it became necessary to resent his own or his subjects' excesses with something more severe than words. Efforts at conciliation, persisted in till their repetition was an invitation to insult, had failed utterly. War again broke out; and in two desolating invasions the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Thomas Clifford read to the Scotch lords, at the sword's point, those lessons of moderation which had been vainly urged with gentleness.

The struggle lasted for a year and a half. It terminated, through weariness of enduring and inflicting suffering, on the 11th of May, 1534. The two Kings signed a treaty of peace, which was to last so long as they both lived, and a year beyond the death of either. It was but a cessation of hostility, not a return to friendship. It was the best which was possible at the moment, but promised little when the recollection of misfortune should have been displaced by desire of revenge. Henry, however, was steadily on the watch to recommence his overtures and pave the way to a real and sound alliance. The council of Scotland had refused to enter upon a course, during the King's minority, from which they could not retire. The minority was now expired, and Lord William Howard,

1534.

the brother of the Duke of Norfolk, went down to Edinburgh to renew the advances which had been twice made and twice rejected. The burial of ill-will on all sides—a forgiveness to Margaret on the part of England—an intercession for the Douglases, especially for Angus, 'who had ever in heart been as true and loyal unto his sovereign lord as any of his house had been afore time'—a remonstrance against the encouragement which had been given to Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, softened by the avowal of a belief that it 'had proceeded rather of the obstinacy and malice of his nephew's subjects, than by his mind, will, and consent'—formed the object and material of Howard's commission, and the overtures were gracious enough to have been accepted, following upon a victorious campaign. The Garter was sent to James, 'the King's Highness minding by some noble means, to declare the integrity of his heart towards him;' and, finally, he was informed that his uncle desired nothing so much as to see his person, 'to have communication and conference in matters that should redound to both their honours and glory, and the weal of their realms and subjects.'[1]

This time the King of Scots replied frankly, and apparently with sincerity. The proposal for an interview grew from a suggestion into a settled purpose. Lord Howard returned to England, and went again to Edinburgh to make concluding arrangements; and James not only replied in his own person, to the am-

[1] Henry VIII. to Lord William Howard: *State Papers*, vol. v. pp. 1—6.

bassador's satisfaction, but desired his mother—who had by this time repented of her past misdoings—to write to Henry in his name, 'that not only he would meet, and commune with and visit the King of England, but also would love his Grace better than any man living next himself, and would take his part in his person, and within his realm, against all living creatures.' The council had made difficulties, but he would not listen to them. His uncle had only to settle, by his own convenience, the time and place of meeting, and on his part there should be no failure.[1] The language was as warm as could be desired; and though past failures must have forbidden Henry to be sanguine, he showed no signs of suspicion. It was possible that the happy change was at last approaching; and in a letter to James himself he expressed his confidence that his nephew's words and doings would at last be found conformable; in which case, he said, 'you shall in fine reign in such honour, and govern your realm in such quiet, as shall be correspondent to our desire, and for your renown and glory.'[2]

Dec. 12.

Had the confidence been justly grounded, the reign of James V. would have been as fertile in utility as, in fact, it was fertile in folly and sin. He would have saved Scotland from a century of wretchedness, and his daughter and his daughter's grandson from the scaffold. Leaning to England, he would have learnt to feel like

[1] Queen Margaret to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. v. pp. 10, 11; Queen Margaret to Cromwell: ibid. pp. 12, &c.

[2] Henry VIII. to James V.: ibid. p. 6.

an Englishman; and English influences would have surrounded the cradle of his child and of his race. But it might not be. The house of Stuart, like the house of Atreus, could not escape its destiny of blood and calamity. The meeting continued to be talked of. As late as March, 1536, James professed to be steady to his resolution. He was environed with 'spiritual, unghostly councillors, who,' wrote an English minister from Edinburgh, 'if they might destroy us with a word, their devilish endeavours should nothing fail.'[1] But the King, he said, was '*bonæ indolis*,' of honest disposition; and on the 16th of that month the queen-mother assured her brother that 'her son was still constant to the meeting, and would not be solicited therefrom by no person.'[2] To sustain him in his purpose Henry at this time proposed to do for him what the Emperor had idly boasted that he would do—to create him Duke of York, and nominate him by Act of Parliament in the line of inheritance.[3] Unluckily, 'the unghostly councillors' were strong, and James was weak. They were many, and he stood alone; and an interview between their King and a monarch whose name made the blood run cold in the veins of every priest in the three kingdoms, was too dreadful a peril to be endured.[4] With the whole energy of their united powers the clergy flung themselves into an opposition. From their pulpits they poured out execra-

1536. March 16.

[1] Barlow to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 36.

[2] Margaret to Henry VIII.: ibid. p. 39.

[3] BUCHANAN, vol. ii. p. 161.

[4] MELVILLE'S *Memoirs*.

tions against heresy and the arch-heretic Henry of England;[1] and the old Archbishop Beton especially, with his nephew David, appealed to the King's superstition to avoid the desperate temptation. Religion would be betrayed. The ancient Church of the true saints would be exposed to ruin; and with the Church would fall the kingdom. At the moment, too, when the Catholic world was rising in arms for the faith,[2] it was no time for a King of Scotland to take the hand of its enemy. Finally, the clergy were rich, the King was poor: golden promises were thrown into the scale till it turned as they desired;[3] and in April the English ambassadors were obliged to report that James's tone was less favourable, and that they knew not what to expect. They had been required to give a particular statement in writing of the subjects which Henry desired to discuss with him; and a further difficulty was raised on the time and the place of the meeting. York had been originally fixed upon; but the King of Scotland could go no further beyond his own frontier than Newcastle.

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[1] 'They shew themselves in all points to be the Pope's pestilent creatures, very limbs of the devil, whose Popish power violently to maintain, these lying friars cease not in their sermons, we being present, blasphemously to blatter against the verity, with slanderous reproach of us.' — Barlow to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 37.

[2] Paul's first Pastoral Letter for a crusade against England had been issued about two months.

[3] With these engines they battered James's mind, which of itself was inclined enough to superstition: and, moreover, they corrupted those courtiers who could the most prevail with him, desiring them in their names to promise him a great sum of money, so that by these artifices they wholly turned away his mind from the thought of an interview.' —BUCHANAN, vol. ii. p. 163; and see MELVILLE.

Nor could he leave his country before Michaelmas, which to his uncle he knew would be inconveniently late.

It seemed as if he was creating difficulties to relieve himself of the burden of a direct refusal. But should the patience of Henry be too much for his manœuvres, he had provided himself with another expedient. When weak men change their resolutions, they mistake passion for strength, and their changes are always in excess. James persuaded himself that he was to be betrayed to the English, and carried prisoner to London. He reproached his mother with being accessory to treachery; and, finally, to escape his promise, should the fulfilment of it still be exacted from him, he sent 'a clerk' 'to procure of the Bishop of Rome a brief to encharge him by commandment that he should agree to no meeting.'[1] Henry spared him the discredit of employing the last excuse. If the King of Scotland would come to York fourteen days before Michaelmas, he repeated his proposal to meet him there. He could not travel later in the season; and unless James consented, the interview must be considered

May.

[1] 'The delay of time and the new appointment of the place is for none other purpose than to provoke that your Grace, by such occasion, should break off without any default to be suspected of his part; and lest this colour might fail, he hath sent a clerk, Master John Thornton, who passed through your realm to procure of the Bishop of Rome a brief, to encharge him by commandment that he agree to no meeting with your Grace. The Queen, because she hath so earnestly solicited in the cause of meeting, is in high displeasure with the King her son, he bearing her in hand that she received gifts of your Highness to betray him.' —Howard and Barlow to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 46.

broken. James answered that the time named was too early for his convenience, and that York was too distant from his frontier. As if purposely to expose the shallowness of both pretences, when September came, he sailed away to France to meet another sovereign, to choose a bride where England least desired, and to proclaim his contemptuous indifference by marrying in silence, without caring to send to London even the ordinary communications of courtesy.

September.

The uncertain prince had taken his part, as it seemed, finally with the Catholics; and he chose a time for the decisive rupture with Henry when the insurrection was blazing through the northern counties, and when Pole's mission was in contemplation to France and Flanders. He lingered at the Court of Francis for many months. On the 1st of January Magdalen de Valois became Queen of Scotland at Notre Dame. On Christmas-eve the sword and cap were consecrated at St Peter's. In this miserable result the forbearance of twenty years, through unexampled provocation, had at length concluded.

1537. January.

Meanwhile the queen-mother was reaping the harvest of her own folly. There had been a moment when it rested with her to have anticipated the union of the kingdoms, and to have coloured (it is impossible to conjecture how deeply) the complexion of their fortunes. Had she played her part, the marriage would have been arranged between James and Mary. An Act of Parliament would have declared them, should no male heir be born to the King, joint inheritors

of the two crowns. Then there would have been no divorce of Catherine; for there would have been no object for a divorce. The declining years of Henry would have escaped the scandals which will envelop them for ever. Perhaps there would have been no breach with Rome, and no Reformation in the form which it in fact assumed. On the behaviour of such poor creatures as Margaret events of so mighty moment at times depend. Her own condition, as might have been expected, was become entirely deplorable. She was growing old; her pleasant vices had lost their charms. She was neglected by her son, despised by the Court, ill-treated by her husband. Methuen had valued in his intrigue only the influence which he gained by it. When the power departed from the queen-mother his interest in her departed also. He spent her money, he involved her in debt, and ventured during James's absence on coarse ill-usage. She had squandered in profligacy her opportunity of being of use to England. In her misfortune she remembered her birth, and cried out passionately for protection to her brother.

Provoked as Henry had been with her conduct, he would not leave her in distress. He made inquiry into the circumstances of which she complained; and, although the accounts of others scarcely tallied with her own,[1] he sent Sir Ralph Sadler privately to Edinburgh to ascertain her real condition.[2] Sadler assured himself

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 63.

[2] Sadler's mission was in January, 1537, just at the time of the second rising in Yorkshire and

that Margaret's story was generally true. Her principal desire was now for a divorce from Methuen. The

Cumberland; and two curious letters written by him to Cromwell during the journey are printed in the *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 526—529. He spent a night at Darlington, which he describes thus: 'My chance was to come into the town in the evening, about six of the clock, or somewhat afore; and when I alighted at my lodging, I think there was not passing three or four persons standing about the inn door. Assuring your lordship that I was scant ascended up a pair of stairs into my chamber but there was about thirty or forty persons assembled in the street afore my chamber window, with clubs and bats; and there they came running out of all quarters of the street, and stood together on a clump, whispering and rounding together. Wherefore I called unto me mine host, who seemed to be an honest man, and I asked him what the people meant to assemble so together. He answered me that when they saw or heard of any coming out of the south, they used always so to gather together to hear news. I told him it was ill suffered of them that were the heads of the town to let them make such unlawful assemblies together in the street; and that it was a very ill example, and hard to judge what inconveniences might follow or what attemptates they would enterprise when such a number of light fellows were assembled. He answered me by his faith the heads of the town could not rule them, ne durst for their lives speak any foul word unto them. But, quoth he, I think myself to be in some credit with them; and ye shall see, quoth he, that I shall cause them to scatter abroad, and every man to go to his home bye and bye. Marry, quoth I, if ye do well ye should set some of them by the heels. No, quoth he, God defend, for so might we bring a thousand men in our tops within an hour; but ye shall see me order them well enough with fair words. And thereupon he went to the route in the street as they stood whispering together, and with his cap in his hand, prayed them to leave their whispering, and every man to go home. And then came they all about him, and asked him who I was, whence I came, and whither I would. Mine host told them I was the King's servant, and going from his Highness in ambassade into Scotland, whereunto one of them replied, and said that could not be true, for the King of Scots was in France. Nevertheless, in fine, mine host so pacified them, that every man went his way; but much ado he had, as he told me. I assure your lordship the people be very tickle, and methinketh in a marvellous strange case and perplexity, for they gape and look for things, and fain would have they cannot tell what.'

grounds on which the new petition was founded are not stated. She had, perhaps, ascertained by this time that the rumour of the protracted life of James IV. had been ill-founded; but any means seemed admissible which would liberate her from a disgraceful connection. If not divorced, she might be formally separated; and on Sadler's return to London, Henry, who was bound to sympathize in matrimonial calamities, sent him into France to request James to interpose his authority in his mother's defence.[1]

At the moment of Sadler's arrival the King of Scotland was preparing to return home with his bride. The weak health of the Queen being likely to suffer from a voyage which might possibly be protracted, an application had been made to Henry, through the French ambassador, for permission for herself and her husband to pass through England. There was some hesitation, for the state of the country was critical, and James's general behaviour had not entitled him to confidence. The Duke of Norfolk considered, nevertheless, that the signs of wealth and prosperity which he would witness in his journey might produce a wholesome effect upon him; and the required favour might, perhaps, have been granted eventually, had not James interpreted the delay into refusal, and sailed resentfully for Scotland. As he passed up the Yorkshire coast he received deputations from parties of the late insurgents, and he was heard to say that he trusted, 'before a year was out, to

[1] Henry VIII. to Sadler: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 70.

break a spear on an Englishman's breast.'[1] In such a humour he was not likely to look more affectionately on his mother, or attend to Henry's representations on her behalf. On his arrival in Scotland, 'omitting all manner of his usual pastimes,' he spent his time with unknown intentions in military preparations. Margaret, in addition to her other misfortunes, found herself suspected and hated as a spy of England. She had contrived to carry her suit for a divorce to the verge of a successful termination in a Scotch Ecclesiastical Court. But Methuen, who lived upon her dowry, which he would have lost if she escaped him, persuaded the King that she intended to retire across the Border, and rejoin the Earl of Angus. James forbade the sentence to be pronounced, and, as the queen-mother declared—but, it is to be hoped, misled by misery—he shared with Methuen the proceeds of her property.[2] Eventually this last grievance was brought to an end. She was parted from her husband; and the rest of her story may be concluded in this place. She struggled on

May.

[1] Sir Thomas Clifford to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 80.

[2] 'Dearest Cousin, I must make my complaint to you how I am heavily done to in this realm, for I have obtained my cause of divorce betwixt me and my Lord of Meffen; and it is so far past that the judge has concluded and written my sentence ready to be pronounced, and the King my son has stopped the same and will not let it be given; and he promised me, when I gave him my manor of Dunbar for a certain money, that I should have the same sentence pronounced. . . . They cause the King my son to believe that an the Lord of Meffen be my husband, that he may give the King my lands and living as long as he is my husband; and through this way he thinks to hold me daily in trouble, and to make him master of my lands.'—Queen Margaret to the Duke of Norfolk: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 103.

through life for four years longer; and after the King's second marriage to Mary of Guise she was treated at the palace with some increase of courtesy; but her worst enemies, her pitiable folly and vanity, continued to adhere to her till the 24th of November, 1541, when she was suddenly struck with paralysis, and died—died, we are told, penitent. 'When she perceived that death did approach, she did desire the friars that were her confessors that they should set on their knees before the King, and beseech him that he would be good and gracious unto the Earl of Angus; and did extremely lament and ask God mercy that she had offended the said Earl as she had.'[1]

Well might she lament her behaviour to Angus. She had dishonoured him as his wife, she had driven him from his country to fret out his life in banishment, she had taught her son to suspect and dread the worthiest subject that he possessed; and in this one only point he had remained obedient to her influence. Not only did James share his mother's hate of Angus, but he extended his animosity to his kindred. Almost his first act on his return from France was to order an execution, for which charity must hope, with difficulty, that some just cause existed. He landed in May. In July the Earl's sister Lady Glamis, his brother-in-law the Master of Forbes, and Archibald Campbell, Lady Glamis' second husband, were accused of conspiracy against the King's life. They protested their innocence; they had not

[1] Ray to the Privy Council: *State Papers*, vol. v. pp. 193-4.

been at the Court or near it: and the people saw in the accusation the offences of Angus rather than of his relations; but they were condemned peremptorily. Campbell attempted to escape out of Edinburgh Castle: the rope was too short, he fell and was killed. The Master of Forbes died on the scaffold, 'attainted of such matter as he at his death did take upon him that he was sackless.'[1] Lady Glamis was burnt alive, 'to the great commiseration of the spectators.' 'The nobleness both of herself and of her husband did much affect the beholders. She was, in the vigour of her youth, much commended for her beauty, and in her punishment she shewed a manlike fortitude.'[2]

The relations between the Scotch and English Governments, meanwhile, were in a condition of negative hostility. As long as the war lasted between France and the Empire, the Pope's much-desired combination against Henry was impossible. It was not till after the pacification of Nice that better prospects seemed to open. Magdalen de Valois died rapidly in the inhospitable northern atmosphere. Her place was filled immediately after by a princess whose steady devotion to the Catholic cause gave consistency to James's weakness. Mary, daughter of the Duke of Guise, and widow of the Duke

[1] Sir T. Clifford to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 95.

[2] BUCHANAN, vol. ii. p. 165. Buchanan adds: 'Their accuser was William Lyon, their near relative. He afterwards, perceiving so eminent a family was like to be ruined by his false information, repented when it was too late, and confessed his offence to the King; yet he could not prevent the punishment of the accused or hinder their estates from being confiscated.'

de Longueville, landed in Scotland on the 16th of June, 1538. Her person was a link which bound the country to France and the Papacy. Her character, at once fearless and cunning, passionately religious, and unembarrassed with moral scruples, qualified her in no common degree for the remarkable part which she was to play. A coadjutor devout and treacherous as herself, and even more able, came forward at the same time, in the person of David Beton, who had succeeded his uncle in the archbishopric of St Andrew's, and had been raised by the discretion of those who had discerned in small services the greatness of his powers, to the dignity of a cardinal. These two, the Queen and Beton, became the supporters of the throne; and, except for brief luminous intervals, were thenceforward the directors of Scottish policy.

In the winter of 1538-9 earnest messages were going to and fro between Holyrood, Flanders, Paris, and Rome; and in the end of March, when the mysterious fleet was arming in the harbours of the Netherlands, English spies reported from Edinburgh that Francis had desired James to have an army in readiness by the 15th of May, either to co-operate with an invading force, or to distract the attention of Henry, while French and Imperial troops were landed at some point on the southern coast. It was added that James had hesitated, and that Beton had in consequence gone to Paris to learn in detail the nature of the proposed measures, and whether or how far Scotland would be supported should the invasion fail, and should she, 1539.

after being tempted into a participation in the quarrel, be left exposed to English vengeance.[1] The information was the more important from the caution with which it was given. It spoke of likelihood, not of certainty, and recommended the application of a test to prove its accuracy. 'Let the Duke of Norfolk send to the King of Scots,' the informants added, 'and say by his writings that he trusts the King of Scots will not suffer any men of war to land in his realm against England; and by the King's answer shall be known whether these sayings be true or not.'[2] The communication was laid before Henry, who adopted the last advice; and the skilful Sir Ralph Sadler was again commissioned to Edinburgh, if possible to pour oil over the waters, or at least to ascertain the truth.[3] The language of his instructions was courteous, but plain. The King said he knew by good authority the efforts which were made by the Pope to create a coalition of

March.

[1] Duke of Norfolk to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 154. Sir Thomas Wharton to the Duke of Norfolk: ibid. p. 156.

[2] Ibid. p. 156.

[3] His instructions are printed in the first volume of the *Sadler Papers*, and in the fifth volume of the *State Papers*, p. 81. The date of the document, as usual, must be determined by internal evidence; and the editor of the *Sadler Papers* has given it to the year 1541: the editor of the *State Papers*, to 1537. The latter has shown that the first date is wrong. I believe it is as certain that he is mistaken himself. From the matter of the instructions, it is clear that the Papal Bull had been published, which was not till the close of 1538. It was at a time when an invasion was looked for, when Pole, in the Pope's name, was urging the Emperor to declare war against England, and the Emperor's refusal was not yet known. It was, therefore, before the breaking up of the Flanders fleet in April, 1539, and Pole's disappointment at Toledo.

the Catholic princes against England. He had been obliged to place the realm in a state of defence; and he took the present opportunity of assuring the Scotch Government that the additional garrisons and fortifications at Berwick were a consequence of the threatened attack upon him, and were meant in no way for a demonstration against his neighbours. He believed, notwithstanding, that the Pope, regardless of everything but the success of his own schemes, had endeavoured to entangle his nephew in the conspiracy. The King of Scots, he trusted, would be too wise to condescend to such purposes; 'but because his realm adjoined unto England, and as a prince and king on whose peril they had not much regard,' the Pope and cardinals 'designed to make him a ringleader and chief setter forth of hostility against his uncle, not caring whether both uncle and nephew should consume each other,' so they might have their way. Let James consider whether the conduct of England towards him for the last twenty years deserved that he should lend himself to its enemies. Let him weigh well what the amities of other princes had cost him, and 'foresee what might chance if he should fortune, for other men's pleasure, to attempt any enterprise, specially where the matter which his Highness defended was God's and his Word's own cause.'

The verbal message was supported in a manner to give it emphasis. The Duke of Norfolk advanced from York to Berwick, and his dreaded name carried with it a panic across the Border. The Catholic league gazed

wistfully from Flanders at their intended prey, half drew their swords, and, faint-hearted, thrust them back into the scabbards. They dared not land upon the English shores; and James and his advisers dared not offer them Scotland as a basis of operations. The excommunications, the intrigues, the embassies, the preparations, exploded in vapour. The lesson, as Henry believed, would not be lost. He supposed that James must have seen the risk which he would have incurred, had he been drawn into the dangerous quarrel; and allowing him a few months to reflect, again, at the close of the year, he sent the same ambassador on a similar errand, not only this time to warn the Scotch Government against acts of aggression, but to induce the King at last, if possible, to relinquish Beton and the Papacy; to fulfil his old promise of visiting England, where he might learn of his uncle to reform his own Church. Once more James was reminded how splendid a prospect might open to his ambition, would he really and heartily attach himself to the English alliance. Henry had but one legitimate child; and though he hoped 'by God's grace to have better store of issue,' yet he was now 'stricken in years,' he said, and he was empowered by Act of Parliament to determine the succession in his will. Not from any fear that 'either the French King or the Emperor would now move him to any such attempt as should utterly banish him for ever out of the favour of his Majesty and the realm,' but from goodwill to himself, from a hearty desire for his welfare, and, above all,

1540.

for the peace and happiness of the two countries, the King of England implored his nephew to meet his overtures with the frankness with which they were made.[1]

There was an element of good sense in James, which might have prevailed had he been free; but he was under the spell of the Cardinal and the Queen, which he could not break, and the Scotch nation was as unmanageable as himself. Sadler carried down the gracious message, but only to fail at the Court and to be insulted by the people. The provost of Edinburgh refused him a lodging for his train; and it was not till the King interfered that they could be entertained.[2] Although in some of the younger noblemen—in the young Earls of Argyle and Ruthven, and in Sir David Lindsay—he found a sounder feeling, the Church on one side, and national pride on the other, were too strong to give a chance of success to the English advances.[3] Policy had

[1] *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 3, &c.

[2] The provost said the town was full. James mentioned a particular house which might be made over to the English embassy. The provost said the Bishop of Ross lodged there. 'I say,' quoth the King, 'in the foul evil dislodge the Bishop, and see that the house be furnished against the ambassador's coming.'—Ibid.

[3] Sadler relates a grotesque illustration of the suspicion with which he was regarded. His stay was protracted into Lent. 'They raised a bruit here that I and all my folks did eat flesh here as heretics and Jews, and thereupon open proclamation was made by the commandment of the Cardinal, that whosoever should buy an egg or eat an egg, within those dioceses, should forfeit no less than his body to the fire to be burnt as an heretic, and all his goods confiscate to the King. And because they bruited that I and my folks did eat flesh (wherein they falsely belied me, whereupon, as I gather, the proclamation was made), I seemed not to be content withal, and complained thereof in honest sort to such gentlemen of the Court as resorted to me, insomuch that the King had knowledge thereof, and incontinently

laboured for a union, and had laboured fruitlessly. It was not till a new power had been introduced, and a bond of concord had arisen between the two nations in a common Protestantism, that the inveterate antagonism consented at length to give way. Here too, by a mischievous fatality, the spirit of disagreement contrived to enter; but the uniting influence was stronger than the separative, and the work of fusion was accomplished at last, though painfully and arduously. The political condition of Scotland has been traced downwards to a point where it runs parallel to the general current of the story. I must go back a few years, to follow to its fountain the already visible stream of the spiritual Reformation.

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sent Rothsay the herald to me declaring that, whatsoever publications were made, the King's pleasure was I should eat what I would, and that victuals should be appointed for me of what I would eat. I thanked humbly his Grace, and said I was belied and untruly said of. 'For,' quoth I, 'I eat no flesh nor none of my folks, nor,' quoth I, 'is it permitted in England in the Lent. Marry,' quoth I, 'I confess I eat eggs and white meats, because I am an evil fishman, and I think it none offence; for if it were,' quoth I, 'I would be as loth to eat of it as the holiest of your priests that thus have belied me.' 'Oh!' quoth he, 'know ye not our priests? a mischief on them all. I trust,' quoth he, 'the world will amend here once.' Thus I had liberty to eat what I would. Another bruit they made that all my men were monks; that I had them out of the abbeys of England, and now they were serving men. I gave a Greek word on my men's coat sleves, which is *μόνῳ ἄνακτι δουλεύω*, the Latin whereof is *Soli regi servio.* Now the bishops here have interpreted my word to be, as they called, *monachulus*, which, as they say, is in English 'a little monk,' as a diminutive of *monachus*, and thus they affirmed for a verity. Whereupon they bruited that all my men were monks; but it appeareth they are no good Grecians. And now the effect of words is known, and they be well laughed for their learned interpretation.'—Sadler to ——: *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. pp. 47, 48.

In Ireland it was observed that the heresy laws were inoperative, because unneeded. In the midst of infinite license of conduct, neither priest nor layman, chieftain nor serf, in that country, indulged himself in liberty of thought. The Roman Catholic religion satisfied the intellectual desires of the Irish nation, which on this one point forgot its besetting inconstancy. Between Scotland and Ireland there was much superficial resemblance. The O'Neils and O'Donnells were indeed of an inferior mettle to the Bruces and the Wallaces. The Milesian Celts never rose into a national consciousness —never in any sense were a people with a cause and a country—until enmity to England was sanctified by religious separation. On the other hand, the feuds of the Scottish chiefs were superseded by their patriotism, whenever the liberty of the nation was imperilled. They were a 'people' in the distinctive sense of the word. They had bought their freedom with the sword; and with the sword they continued to defend it. Yet their independence was an isolated virtue, compatible with unrestrained indulgence in crime and licentiousness: the annals of the sister island are not more rich in aimless feuds, murders, and conspiracies than those of the country which we are describing; and if the Scots had remained as a nation under similar spiritual trammels with the Irish, they would have come down into the modern world equally shrouded in misery—equally the despair of the statesman, the problem of the moralist. But there was a something in all races of the Teutonic blood which rose in rebellion against so barren

a destiny. The seeds of liberty were scattered simultaneously in England and in Scotland; and the initial symptoms of growth in both countries are visible together. When the first Acts of Parliament were passed by the Lancastrian princes against the Lollards—perhaps even earlier—heretics, by the Scotch law, were consigned to the stake.[1] The Glasgow register shows that in 1422, and again in 1431, various persons suffered death for their religion; and under James IV. as many as thirty were indicted whose fate is not discoverable.

1505. In the reign of the same King, in the year 1505, an event occurred of vaster consequence. In the house of a retainer of the Earl of Bothwell, in the suburbs of Haddington, there was born into the world an infant who became, perhaps, in that extraordinary age its most extraordinary man, and whose character became the mould in which the later fortunes of his country were cast. John Knox was forty years old before Scotland knew him as more than a poor priest, a plain yeoman's son: it is chiefly through his eyes, however, that the religion of the Scottish people is visible to us from his early manhood. He grew himself

[1] 'Hæretici debent comburi,' is to be found in the *Regiam Majestatem;* but the date of that treatise, or the introduction into it of particular phrases, is uncertain. In the Parliament held at Perth, in 1398, 'cursed men heretics' were directed to be put forth from the kirk, and specially punished: the form of the penalty was not specified.—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 211. The word 'heretic,' which to contemporaries was the one expression fraught with the deepest associations of horror, is sought for eagerly among the Records by the modern historian as the green blade of promise bursting out of the barren soil.

with the growth of the spirit of the Reformation; and the history of the outward occurrences is the history of them in the effect which they worked in shaping the mind of the Reformer.

The world went smoothly with the Church for the first quarter of the century. The bishops and abbots ate, and drank, and sinned, and married their children, and believed their houses would continue for ever; till suddenly Luther started up in Germany, and the expanding circles of the great wave which he had created penetrated into Scotland. Patrick Hamilton, the Earl of Arran's nephew, a youth little more than twenty years old, was among the first of her children who was shaken with the undulation. The young abbot (he was the titular superior of Ferns) crossed to the Continent, 'to see that great sight.' He spoke with Luther himself; he spoke with Melancthon; and in the beginning of the year 1527 he carried back the lessons which he had learnt to his countrymen. It was a time when there was neither law nor order, when the strong trampled on the weak, and the ruling powers of the Church were happy in their adulteries, and there was no justice but to the strong. But authority, unequal to the protection of men's lives and properties, could rouse itself in defence of their souls. A friend of Hamilton, an Alexander Campbell, with whom he had shared his treasure, whispered the news that heresy was in Scotland. The rank of the offender made him peculiarly dangerous. He was seized, and convicted of Lutheranism before Arch-

1525.

1527.

1528. bishop Beton; and on the last of February, in front of the old college of St Andrew's, he was brought out to be burnt.[1] He bore himself with a courage worthy of the cause of which he was the protomartyr. 'At the place of execution,' says Knox,[2] 'he gave to his servant, who had been chamberchield to him of a long time, his gown, his coat, and his bonnet. They will not profit in the fire; they will profit thee; I have no more to give now but the example of my death. Think well on that. It seems to be dreadful; but it is the gate of eternal life.'

The bishops killed him, hoping that they had done service both to God and to themselves. It seemed that they had failed. From each drop of his blood sprung up a fresh heretic. But as in England, so in Scotland, it was rare that men of the rank of Patrick Hamilton went astray after his example. Among the poorer commons chiefly 'the new learning' found a home. It was they who came in contact with superstition in its grossest form, and who suffered at once from the vices of the clergy and their avarice. Their understandings were too direct to sublimate absurdities into mysteries; and they had plain tongues, which spoke their feelings without disguise. There was little or nothing transcendental in the first religious confessors of Scotland; little or nothing doctrinal; the Calvinist gloom was of later birth; and Knox, a man pre-eminently of facts, and

[1] Knox says the last of February. Calderwood, the last week in March or the first in April.

[2] *History of the Reformation*, p. 7.

untroubled with theological subtleties, has sketched the popular feeling in a series of scenes shining with laughter and humorous defiance, but so free from bitterness, that even anger seems to melt into contemptuous pity.

There was no occasion to look far for scandal. In Scotland all the chiefest ecclesiastical vices were in the bloom of maturity, coarse, patent, and palpable. The scattered pictures of them which Knox has left are, in fact, the history of Scottish Protestantism.

In a skirmish in one of the Border wars a certain Alexander Ferrier was taken prisoner, and being unransomed, remained several years in captivity. On returning home, at last, he found that 'a priest, according to the charity of kirkmen, had entertained his wife, and wasted his substance.' He was loud in his outcries, and in consequence was 'delated' for heresy, and cited before a tribunal of bishops at St Andrew's. The following sketch appears to have been a literal transcript of the scene which took place in the court: 'Mr Alexander,' being brought in, 'leapt up merrily upon the scaffold, and casting a gamound, said, 'Where are the rest of the players?' Mr Andrew Oliphant (the clerk of the court), offended therewith, said, 'It shall be no play to you, sir, before you depart;' and so began to read his accusation, the first article whereof was that he despited the mass. His answer was, 'I hear more masses in eight days than the bishops there sitting say in a year.' Accused, secondly, for contempt of the sacraments. 'The priests,' he said, 'were the most

common contemners of the sacraments, and especially of matrimony,' and that he witnessed by many there present of the priests, and named the men's wives with whom they had meddled; 'and because,' he said, 'I complain of such injuries, I am here summoned and accused as one that is worthy to be burnt. For God's cause,' said he, 'will ye take wives of your own, that I and others, whose wives ye have abused, may be revenged upon you.' The old Bishop of Aberdeen, thinking to justify himself, said, 'Carle, thou shalt not know my wife.' Alexander answered, 'My lord, ye are too old; but with the grace of God, I shall drink with your daughter before I depart.' And thereat was smiling of the best and loud laughter of some, for the Bishop had a daughter married in the same town. Then the bishops bade away with the carle. 'Nay,' he answered, 'I will not depart this hour; for I have more to speak against the vices of priests than I can express the whole day.' After divers purposes they commanded him to burn his bill;[1] and he demanding the cause, they said, 'Because ye have spoken those articles whereof ye are accused.' 'The muckle devil bear away them that first and last spake them,' he said. He took the bill, and chewing it, spit it in Mr Oliphant's face, saying, 'Now burn it, or drown it, whether ye will; you shall hear no more of me. But I must have somewhat of every one of you, to begin my pack again, which a priest and my wife, a priest's whore, have spent.' And so every prelate and

[1] Equivalent to pleading guilty and appealing for mercy.

rich priest, glad to be quit of his evil tongue, gave him somewhat, and so he departed; for he understood nothing of religion.'[1]

Tetzel carried on a trade in pardons. The Scotch bishops sold bills of excommunication—more innocent, if not more effective. A friar entering an alehouse on a Sunday, at Dunfermline, found a number of peasants drinking. He proposed to join them. 'Yea, father,' said one, 'ye shall drink, but ye mun first resolve a doubt which has risen among us—to wit, what servant will serve a man best on least expenses?' 'The good angel,' said the friar, 'who is man's keeper, who makes great service without expense.' 'Tush,' said the peasant, 'we mean no such high matters. What honest man will do greatest service for least expense?' While the friar was musing, the peasant said again, 'I see, father, the greatest clerks are not the wisest men. Know ye not how the bishops and their officials serve us husbandmen? Will they not give us a letter of cursing for a plack to last for a year to look over our dyke? And that keeps our corn better nor the sleeping boy that will have three shillings of fee, a sark, and a pair of shoon by the year.'[2]

In these scenes, and the scenes which they suggested and from which they arose, lay the secret of Scotland's second life, and it was swiftly growing. Whatever the truth of God might be, it was not in the doctrines of these priests; nor could any human soul,

1530.

[1] KNOX'S *History of the Reformation*, p. 16.

[2] KNOX, ibid. p. 14.

to whom truth was dearer than falsehood, believe any longer that his hopes of heaven lay in listening to profligate impostors. The bishops burnished up their arms. Another victim died at St Andrew's who had called Patrick Hamilton a martyr. Catherine, Patrick's sister, was called before the Bishop of Ross at Holyrood, and examined on 'justification.' No man, she said, could be saved by water; but only by the grace of God. A learned lawyer expounded to her the mysteries of 'works,' of works of 'condignity' and works of 'congruity.' 'Work here,' she cried, 'and work there, what kind of working is all this? No work can save me but the work of Christ my Saviour.' It would have gone hard with her had not James interfered. She escaped her persecutors and found a shelter in England. Thither also many others were flying from the same danger, so long as Cromwell lived, secure of protection.[1] Henry, too, himself showed occasional favour to these exiles. One of them, Andrew Charteris, a priest, had called the Scotch clergy 'children of the devil.' 'When they perceive any man take up their craft and falsehood,' he said, 'or challenge them of fornication, incontinently they accuse him of heresy. If Christ Himself were in Scotland He should be made more ignominious by our spiritual fathers than He was of old by the Jews.' Henry heard of the words, and sent for Charteris, and talked with him for an hour. At the end of the conversation the King dismissed him with a phrase which in Henry's mouth contained the

[1] SPOTSWOOD: *History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 65, 66.

highest compliment. 'It is a pity,' he said to him, 'that ever you were a friar.'[1]

But the attitude of the Scotch Government naturally threw upon the Romanizing bishops an increase of power, and they grew more vindictive as the times grew dangerous. Religion and politics had become so identified, that Protestants were not only hated in themselves, but they were allies of the English, traitors to the Commonwealth, to be hunted down and annihilated. In 1534 a fisherman named David Straiton was burnt. He had been required to pay tithe of what he caught. If the priests would rob him, he said, they might come for their tithe to the place where he got it; and as each tenth fish came up, he flung it back into the sea. He was excommunicated for disrespect; the lighter punishment soon drew after it the worst; he was executed at the stake.[2] 1534.

In 1538, the conduct of the persecution fell into the hands of David Beton, and in him ultramontanism became absolute in its most relentless form. The attempt was no longer to conquer heresy, but to exterminate it; nor can it be said that a process which in Spain was absolutely successful, was in itself unwisely calculated. If the Scotch had been a people over whom bodily terror could exert a power, they would have yielded as the Spaniards yielded. 1538. 1537.

But Beton had to deal with dispositions as hard as

[1] CALDERWOOD, vol. i.

[2] KNOX'S *History of the Reformation.*

his own; and borne up also, as perhaps his disposition was not, by a consciousness of the sacredness of their cause. He could break, but he could not bend; he could burn, but he could not melt. 'This is your hour,' a Glasgow friar cried at the stake; 'the powers of darkness sit as judges, and we are unrighteously accused; but the day comes which will show our innocency, and you, to your everlasting confusion, shall see your blindness. Go on, fill up the measure of your iniquity.'[1] Forret, the Vicar of Dolor, was tied among the faggots waiting for the fire. 'Will ye say as we say,' exclaimed a learned abbot to him, 'and keep your mind to yourself and save yourself?' 'I thank your lordship,' he answered; 'you are a friend to my body, but not to my soul. Before I deny a word which I have spoken, you shall see this body of mine blow away with the wind in ashes.' To give Forret a last chance they 'wirried and burnt' another victim before him, that he might profit by the spectacle. The man died quickly. 'Yea, yea,' the vicar only said, 'he was a wylie fellow; he knew there were many hungry folks coming after him, and he went before to cause make ready the supper.'[2]

Happy contrast to the Court, with its intrigues and harlotries, its idle and paltry schemings. We need not wonder at the regeneration of Scotland, when she had such men as these among her children. When the battle was begun and was fought in such a spirit, the issue was certain; the first death was an earnest of

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[1] SPOTSWOOD. [2] CALDERWOOD, vol. i. p. 129.

victory. But our story must now turn to another country, which contained no such leavening element, and which had longer to wait for the tide of misfortune to change. 1535. September.

The Irish difficulty, under the Plantagenets, the Tudors, the Stuarts, and the House of Hanover, has preserved one uniform characteristic. The country has exerted a magical power of transformation upon every one connected with it. The hardest English understanding has given way before a few years of residence there; the most solid good sense has melted under the influence of its atmosphere.

On the close of the rebellion of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, Lord Leonard Grey, to whom he surrendered, repaired with his prisoner to London; and after receiving a handsome present as the reward of his services, returned to his post as marshal of the army. In his absence the deputy, Sir William Skeffington, and Lord James Butler extinguished the remains of disaffection which were still smouldering in the southern counties. They made an armed progress through Tipperary and Cork into Limerick, receiving the submission of the leading chiefs. Dungarvon, which had been fortified by the Earl of Desmond, and was intended as a place of landing for the Spaniards, attempted a resistance; but a few English fishing-vessels, accidentally on the coast, blockaded the harbour.[1] Skeffington had cannon with him; and after six hours' bombardment the garrison

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 288, &c.

yielded. Opposition had everywhere ceased. O'Brien, calling himself Prince of Thomond, wrote a letter to the King, professing his obedience, and only entreating that the Duke of Richmond, or some English nobleman of rank, might be sent over to govern ;[1] and on the 31st of December the Master of the Rolls and Mr Justice Aylmer were able to tell Cromwell that 'since the first conquest Irishmen were never in such fear.' Sessions had been held, and the royal writs respected in five additional shires ; eighteen thieves had been hanged in Kildare. And 'there, as well as manywheres else,' they said, 'the poor earth tillers do peaceably occupy the earth, and fear not to complain upon them by whom they be hurted.'

Leaving the country in this improved condition, Skeffington, who had suffered long from ill-health, retired at once from his office and from life—he died on the last day of the year—and, according to O'Brien's desire, a person of higher birth was chosen to succeed him. Lord Leonard Grey, brother of the Marquis of Dorset, and brother-in-law of the Earl of Kildare, formed as it were a connecting link between the two kingdoms, and seemed fitted by rank and circumstances to be a successful administrator of Ireland. His personal character remained to be brought out by authority. In past years he had dabbled in dangerous arts, and had been connected with treasure-seekers ; but he was then young : he had followed in his errors the respectable

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 287.

example of the Duke of Norfolk,[1] and he had since distinguished himself as a hardy adventurous soldier, no slight qualification for so dangerous a command.

He found Ireland outwardly quiet; but his position, it soon appeared, would require a strong head as well as a strong hand. In June, 1536, the Earl of Desmond and O'Brien were again conspiring; and the English soldiers were in mutiny for want of pay. The King had been encouraged to believe that, when the insurrection was over, their numbers might be reduced, and that the Irish revenues would support as many as would remain. It was found that the revenue existed only in the imagination of the treasurer. Neither rent of crown lands, nor customs dues, nor taxes could be collected. The Irish Parliament could grant no money, for the people, exhausted by the war, had none to give; while not a man could be spared from the force at the command of the deputy. The Irish chiefs had but paused to take breath, or had been tranquil as a variation of amusement from the monotony of war; and, when Henry expected to hear that the country would be self-supporting, he was informed that 'the English blood was worn out, and the Irish blood ever more and more increased.' If peace was to be maintained permanently, three armies would be needed instead of one, to invade simultaneously north, south, and west, to build fortresses and garrison them,

1536, June.

[1] Confession of a Monk of St Bennett's, addressed to Wolsey, touching his dealing with spirits: *Rolls House MS.* second series 64.

and to hold the people under military rule.[1] Evil tongues whispered, also, that difficulties had brought disputes where there ought to have been only cordiality; that the deputy was arbitrary, and his subordinates more anxious to prove him to be wrong than to teach him what was right. Whether this was calumny the future would show: for the present, all parties hurried to deny the existence of so early a disagreement. There were enemies by this time in the field, and Lord Leonard was at least a soldier. He composed the mutiny for a time with promises, and he resolved to escape the dissensions of Dublin, and distinguish, by some marked success, the first year of his command. Henry had sent him orders to break, if possible, the coalition in the west. In July he marched with a thousand men into Kilkenny, and thence turning towards Limerick, he took possession of a deserted castle belonging to Desmond, in an island on Lough Gyr. Carrigogonnell, a strong fortress on the Shannon, fell next into his hands. He placed it in the custody of an Irish chief who was supposed to be faithful; and, pausing for a day in the town of Limerick, he set himself to destroy the celebrated bridge at Castle Connell, a few miles distant, which O'Brien had thrown across the river to command the ingress from Clare into Munster. His way led up the southern bank of the Shannon. On reaching the spot he found four arches of the bridge broken down. On the portion of it which was left

July.

[1] Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to Cromwell; *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 318; Cowley to Cromwell: ibid. p. 323.

standing there were two castles, one of them 'very strong, builded all of hewn marble;' the other, on the Clare side, less formidable, but only to be approached through the first. 'The gunners,' wrote the council who accompanied the expedition, 'bent all their ordnance upon the castle, shooting at it all day; but it was of such force that the ordnance did in manner no hurt, for the wall was at the least twelve or thirteen feet thick, and both the castles were well warded with gunners, gallowglass, and horsemen, having made such fortifications of timber and hogsheads of earth as the like had not been seen in that land. They had one great piece of iron which shot bullets as great in manner as a man's head. They had also a ship piece, a Portugal piece, certain 'hagbushes,' and 'hand-guns.''[1]

Lord Leonard, finding his cannon made no impression, fell back on the rough material of the English soldier. He gave his men the night to rest themselves. At daybreak every one was directed to prepare a faggot of wood a fathom long, 'to fill that part of the water between the land and the castle.' A party of volunteers were told off as a forlorn hope, who, with ladders in their hands, plunged across the chasm, and, 'with plain manhood and force,' scaled the bridge. The spectacle was sufficient: the garrison did not wait to make closer acquaintance with men who would venture such an enterprise. 'They scope out at the other end by footmanship,' leaving their guns and both castles in the

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 349.

hands of the English. The exploit passed as more than an ordinary success. 'O'Brene's Bridge' was so potent an instrument of mischief, that it was regarded in the neighbourhood with a kind of superstitious terror. The mayor and alderman of Limerick came out to witness the demolition, as the German burghers crowded about the body of the dragon; and remaining too long examining the castles the joists were suddenly loosened, the arches fell, and the city dignitaries were precipitated into the Shannon. Two lives were lost; there were boats at hand which rescued the remainder.

The victory thus closed in misfortune, and a worse followed. Henry had desired that, if the season allowed, the army should advance into Thomond, and bring O'Brien to his senses in his own country. Grey was ready to go forward; but the troops believed that they had done enough till they were paid with coin more substantial than words. The northern horse, the best men that he had, drew aside, and declared fiercely that, if their arrears were given them, they would go where the deputy would lead; if they were to be cheated of their right, though in the midst of an enemy's country, and in a moment of victory, they refused to stir another step.[1] Payment on the spot was of course impossible; and Grey's triumph was snatched from him. Fortunately, the threats of the men exceeded slightly their intentions, or the expedition might have ended in a serious disaster. The warden of Carrigogonnell, hear-

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 347—353.

ing of the mutiny, turned traitor, and declared for O'Brien. The castle was a formidable structure; but the soldiers were prevailed upon at least to maintain their conquests and revenge an act of treachery. They returned under the walls, and sent in a message that, if the Irish would surrender, they might depart with their lives; if they resisted, they should die, man, woman, and child. There were seventy of them—all men, it would seem; so that the latter part of the menace was needless. They believed themselves secure, and replied with a defiance. The place was assaulted instantly. Thirty English were killed; but the defence, though desperate, was useless. 'I suppose I kept promise with them,' wrote the deputy in his despatch to the King; 'and there was such an order taken as I trust all Irish rebels will take heed how they keep castles or holds against your Grace's power.' The garrison had 'the pardon of Maynooth,' and were hanged to a man.

In this campaign Grey had done well. He had succeeded so far as success was in his power; and he was not to blame because the Irish treasury was bankrupt; or because the treasurer, with the national desire to say whatever was most immediately pleasing, had sent to the King such a splendid account of his expected revenue that no preparations had been made for the deficit. But the disappointment from his failures was greater than the enjoyment of his achievements. He returned to Dublin, irritated at the behaviour of the men, the mutilation of the enterprise which it had caused, and the neglect of those whose reports had been

so unfaithful; and reproached, on the other side, by the council, with mistaking the character of the people, with trusting those whom he ought to suspect, and making 'skurrs of light matters.' Thus the expedition, brilliant as it had been, was followed by heartburnings and bickerings; and those whose reasonable faculties, at their highest strain, would have sufficed imperfectly for the work of governing Ireland, spent their time in quarrelling, thwarting, and calumniating each other. Grey, haughty and passionate, could control neither his temper nor his language. He would start on his feet in the council-chamber, lay his hand on his sword, and scatter carelessly invectives and opprobrious epithets. The council, who, amidst their many faults, understood Ireland better than the deputy, complained to Cromwell that he would never listen to their advice. The deputy retorted with stories against the council; he declared that he was haunted with detraction; that 'it was predestinate to that country to bring forth sedition, invention, and lies.'[1] To add to the embarrassment, the Irish Parliament, then in their session, continued recalcitrant in money matters. The proctors who were returned to Convocation, not being more than seven or eight in number, claimed to be a part of the general legislature, with a right of veto on every measure which might be proposed;[2] 'and certain ringleaders and bell-

[1] See the Correspondence of the Deputy and Council with the English Government: *State Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 382—501.

[2] This very Irish feature in our constitutional history deserves particular attention. 'The frowardness and obstinacy of the proctors of the clergy,' the deputy and treasurer wrote to Cromwell, 'from the be-

wethers, presuming to have more excellent wit than those in England,' caused the rejection of the 'Act for

ginning of this session, hath been such that we can do no less than advertise your lordship thereof. After the assembly of the Parliament at this session, some bills were past the Common House, and by the speaker delivered to the High House to be debated there. The spiritual lords thereupon made a general answer that they would not commune nor debate upon any bill till they knew whether the proctors in the Convocation had a voice or not. . . . My lord, it were well done that some mean may be devised whereby they may be brought to remember their duties better. Except the mean may be found that these proctors may be put from voice in the Parliament, there shall but few things pass for the King's profit, for hitherto have they showed themselves in nothing conformable. We think that no reasonable man would judge them to have such a pre-eminence in a Parliament, that though the King, the Lords, and Commons assent to an Act, the proctors in the Convocation House (though they were but seven or eight in number, as sometimes they be here no more) shall stay the same at their pleasure, be the matter never so good, honest, and reasonable. It doth well appear that it is a crafty cast devised betwixt their masters the bishops and them. It is good that we have against the next session a declaration from them under the King's great seal of England of this question whether the proctors have a voice in the Parliament or not? and that every Act passed without their assents is nevertheless good and effectual.'—*State Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 438-9.

The reply of the Crown, as embodied in an Act of Parliament (*Irish Statutes*, 28 Henry VIII. cap. 12), is a good authority as to the constitutional, as distinct from the ecclesiastical, theory of the functions of Convocation. The Irish and English practice, however, before the Reformation, seems to have been curiously different. In England custom allowed the clergy to constitute themselves an independent legislative body. In Ireland the proctors seem to have regarded themselves as returned to the Parliament, like the bishops and abbots. 'Forasmuch,' says the Act, 'as at every Parliament begun and holden within this land, two proctors of every diocese within the same land have been used and accustomed to be summoned and warned to be at the same Parliament, which were never by the order of law, usage, custom, or otherwise, any member or parcel of the whole body of the Parliament, nor have had any voice or suffrage in the same, but only to be there as councillors and assistants to the same, and upon such things of learning as should happen in controversy,

the Suppression of the Religious Houses,' although the discipline, it was said, was even more relaxed, the religious personages less continent or virtuous, than in England—keeping no hospitality saving to themselves, their concubines, and children.'

1537. March. The King, who personally knew Grey, and liked him, believed at first that the fault was rather with the council than the deputy. Cromwell entreated the latter, if there was any truth in the accusations of the other party, to acknowledge it. 'I need not tell you,' he said, 'how much the King's Highness delighteth in plain-dealing; how much he abhorreth occult handling of things.' But Grey protested that he had written nothing but truth; and Henry, accepting his word, sent orders in his imperious style, that the discord of which he had heard should cease. The council should submit to the deputy; the deputy should take advice of the council; above all, those who were main-

to declare their opinions, much like as the Convocation within the realm of England is commonly at every Parliament begun and holden by the King's special license, as his Majesty's judges of his said realm of England, and other substantial and learned men, having groundedly examined the root and first establishment of the same, do clearly determine; and yet, by reason of this sufferance and by the continuance of time, and for that most commonly the said proctors have been made privy to such matters as within this land at any time have been to be enacted and established and their advices taken to the same, they now of their ambitious minds do temerariously presume and take upon themselves to be parcel of the body, in manner claiming that without their assent nothing can be enacted at any Parliament within this land; wherefore, be it ordained and established by authority of this present Parliament,' &c. The conclusion from such a preamble may be easily supplied.

[1] Cowley to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 371.

tained in their places to reduce a barbarous country into order, should not set an example of anarchy. A more serious matter than paltry wranglings and quarrels lay in the misrepresentations which had been made to him on the finances. He wrote angrily, expatiating upon the sums which he had spent, and the gulf into which they seemed to have been thrown. 'For all this,' he said, 'what have we gotten since the first stay of the violence of the late rebellion of Thomas Fitzgerald? In words you say we have now great revenues, and so indeed we have; but when anything is there to be paid, we see not what stead the same do stand us in, or to what purpose they serve. Good councillors,' he continued, 'should before their own private gains have respect to their prince's honour, and to the public weal of the country whereof they have charge. A great sort of you—we must be plain—desire nothing else but to reign in estimation, and to fleece from time to time all that you may catch from us.'[1] The rebuke was partially deserved. In part it arose from the misrepresentations of the deputy, whose hasty accusations fell in for the present with the King's anxiety and vexation. On the same authority, Henry singled out for especial admonition Archbishop Brown, who had succeeded the murdered Allen—a man who was perhaps as foolish as he was supposed to be, but he was tolerably right-minded, and scarcely merited the tone in which he was addressed.

'We have advanced you,' the King said, 'in conse-

[1] Henry VIII. to the Deputy and Council of Ireland: *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 422.

quence of your supposed good qualities; yet nevertheless, as we do both partly perceive, and partly by sundry advertisements be informed, the good opinion that we have conceived of you is in manner utterly frustrate, for neither do you give yourself to the instruction of our people there in the Word of God, ne frame yourself to stand us in any stead for the furtherance of our affairs. Such is your lightness in behaviour, and such is the elation of your mind in pride, that, glorying in foolish ceremonies, and delighting in 'we' and 'us,' in your dreams you compare yourself so near to a prince in honour and estimation, that all virtue and honesty is almost banished from you. Reform yourself therefore with this gentle advertisement. Do first your duty towards God in the execution of your office; do then your duty towards us in the advancement of our affairs, and we shall put your former negligence in oblivion. If this will not serve, but that ye will still persevere in your fond folly, let it sink into your remembrance that we be able, for the not doing of your duty, to remove you again, and to put another man of more virtue and honesty in your place.'[1]

The King's interference did not soothe the disagreements. He trusted too absolutely to Grey; and Grey, who at the outset seems to have divided the blame with the council, was every day deserving a larger share of it. Through this period of Irish history there is one standard which will rarely mislead the judgment. The

[1] Henry VIII. to Archbishop Brown: *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 465.

relation in which any man in high office placed himself towards the Earl of Ormond, was a sure measure either of his understanding or his loyalty; and to the deputy's misfortune, either through personal antipathy, or because in his connection with the Geraldines he shared the Geraldine prejudices, he would neither accept Ormond for an adviser, nor could be brought to regard him except with passionate dislike. He even ventured to suggest a suspicion to Henry that Ormond was disloyal; and the King now felt that, if he was capable of so considerable an error, he could no longer himself be absolutely free from blame.

To ascertain the true state of things, therefore, if truth in Irish matters was ascertainable at all, a commission was appointed on the 31st of July, composed of George Paulet, a brother of Lord St John, two gentlemen named Moyle and Berners, and Sir Anthony St Leger. These four, taking with them funds to satisfy the claims of the army, were instructed to proceed to Dublin, and—after settling with the men as moderately as might be possible, but 'so as they might be contented, without grudge or murmur,'—to dispose of the plans of conquest, by disbanding all except three hundred and forty of the best troops. The expense of a large force could no longer be endured, until the Irish revenues became productive. Costly expeditions wore a fair appearance in a despatch; but meanwhile O'Brien's Bridge had been reconstructed, and O'Brien himself was independent and indifferent. The money was gone; the result was nothing. After dismissing

July.

the soldiers, the commissioners were to survey the Crown estates, to examine the treasurer's accounts, noting down accurately the receipts and disbursements; to inquire into the real conduct of the deputy, the council, the judges, 'how far every man was doing his duty in his degree;' whether there were complaints of bribery, extortion, or oppression, or whether such complaints were well founded; and generally they were to avail themselves of all means of information as to the condition and prospects of the country and the conduct of the Irish Government.[1]

On arriving in Dublin they found themselves in a chaos of quarrel, calumny, and contradiction. Moderation seemed the one impossible and unimagined virtue. The loyalists in the council, who had done good service in the Geraldine rebellion, were in the humour of the modern Orangemen. The deputy, goaded by opposition and unreason, had dashed into toleration of the rebels. Immediately after the landing of the commissioners, an occurrence took place which illustrated the temper in which they would find Lord Grey, who but two years before had been a rational English nobleman. In the August of the same summer an expedition was ordered into King's County against O'Connor; and the knights and landowners of the Pale as usual were in attendance on the deputy. The weather had

August.

[1] 'Instructions by the King's Majesty unto his trusty and well-beloved servants Anthony St Leger, George Paulet, Thomas Moyle, and William Berners, Esqrs., whom his Grace sendeth into his land of Ireland.'—*State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 452.

been wet, the rivers were in flood, and on coming to a dangerous ford Lord Leonard insisted on swimming his horse across the water. Being powerfully mounted he passed safely, although with some difficulty; and immediately, although there was no enemy to be sought or peril to be escaped, no object to be gained either in time or convenience, he insisted that the whole force should follow him. They objected reasonably to incurring a needless risk. Whereupon 'his lordship did not only revile them, calling them traitors, but also caused his marshals to spoil and take away from the Baron of Delvin, being an old man and an ancient captain, Viscount Gormanstone, and the other lords and gentlemen, their horses, harness, and weapons, they then being in the midst of an enemy's country, and left them, to the peril of their enemies and danger of their lives, to travel home on foot through bogs and mire.'[1] The Irish nature had made deep inroads upon the deputy. If the lords and gentlemen had broken the articles of war, they should have been brought home and tried for it. 'My Lord Deputy,' said Sir John Allen, 'is a nobleman and a good gentleman; but it should be good to reduce him to rule by order and counsel. I would have the King's deputy remember whose person he representeth; be sober in language, being more displeased with the offence than with the person. He ought to be the mirror both of justice and chivalry. It is not seeming to his estate and nobility to use vile language, which doth not

[1] Articles of the Enormities of the Lord Leonard Grey: *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 37.

conquer his enemy, but rather exasperate him to more malice; and, to be plain, unless my Lord Deputy use another moderation than he hath done of late, he shall be more meet to be ruled than rule, for he hath lost the hearts of English and Irish, friend and foe.'[1]

Allen, the writer of this passage, was, with the exception of Ormond and his son, the only person in Ireland competent to furnish the commission with any tolerable information; and the Butlers were supposed to be interested parties, and open to exception as witnesses. On the Master of the Rolls, therefore, St Leger chiefly depended; and with his assistance soon saw his way, not to Lord Leonard's removal, but to a limitation of the confidence which had been placed in him. Allen and St Leger together might have struck out some reasonable plan of action, if left uncontrolled. Unluckily, the commission was composite. Paulet, who belonged to the party in opposition to Cromwell in England, attached himself in Ireland to the deputy; and the reports sent home by the different commissioners contradicted each other little less than those which had before perplexed the English Government. It appeared, however, at least, that the revenue ought to be something, though it was actually nothing. It depended chiefly on the rents of lands confiscated for rebellion, which the tenants would not pay unless they were compelled; and with a diminished army would be diminished the means of compulsion. This was a fact which both

[1] Articles of the Enormities of the Lord Leonard Grey: *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 488.

factions admitted, and to which Henry must resign himself. He was encumbered with a country from which he could not retreat; which he could not govern; which was incapable of a noble independence, and incapable equally of a noble submission; which remained, and would remain, in a chronic disorder, exhausting alike to the English exchequer and the English patience. In other respects, as the Reformation advanced in England, Romanism with the Irish was deepening into a national principle. 'Irishmen,' said Allen, 'have long supposed that the royal estate of Ireland consists in the Bishop of Rome for the time being; and the lordship of the Kings of England to be but a governance under the same.' The Anglo-Irish of the Pale, and the Celts of the provinces, shared so far in the same convictions; and the commissioners concluded that the spirit was too strong to subdue. The King might conquer the country as often as he pleased; but his victories did but wound the air, which would close again behind his sword.[1] The Archbishop of Dublin could find no spiritual man in all his diocese who would preach the word of God or declare the King's supremacy.[2] The Butlers alone among the

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 535.

[2] 'Neither by gentle exhortation, evangelical instruction, neither by oaths of them solemnly taken, nor yet by threats of sharp correction, can I persuade or induce any, either religious or secular, once to preach the word of God, or the just title of our most illustrious prince. And yet before that our most dread sovereign were declared to be (as he ever was in deed) supreme head over the Church, they that then could, and would, even till the right Christians were weary of them, preach after the old fashion, will not now open their lips; but in corners and such company as them liketh they can full earnestly utter their opinions.'—Archbishop Brown to Cromwell: ibid. p. 539.

resident noblemen could be depended on for English sympathies or English opinions;[1] and the deputy, though afraid to avow his Papal bearings, yet exhibited his tendency in the insults which he heaped upon the Archbishop;[2] and in the oblique encouragement of the opposite faction.

St Leger, though he was too wise to commit himself, comprehended tolerably the condition of the various matters which he was sent to inspect. Especially he consulted Ormond, and carried away with him Ormond's views.[3]

1538. April. He returned with his companions in the spring of 1538; but the different conclusions at which they had arrived prevented any active resolution on the part of Henry, and the deputy, the council, and the country were again left to their own guidance. The slender restraints which had been imposed by the presence of the commissioners disappeared on their departure. The Bishop of Meath from his pulpit railed 'against the Archbishop of Dublin, calling him heretic and beggar, with other rabulous revilings.' The Archbishop was present, but his brother prelate, nevertheless, spoke of him 'with such a stomach that the three-mouthed Cerberus in hell could not have uttered it more viperiously.'[4] A priest of St Patrick's neglected

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[1] 'The King's Majesty hath one champion, the Lord Butler, that dare repugne against the abusions of such sects as this miserable land is overflown withal.'—White to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 562.

[2] Ibid. p. 539.

[3] Ibid. p. 562–3.

[4] *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 2

to read the prayer for the King in the Church-service. The Archbishop put him in confinement. Lord Leonard Grey immediately set him at liberty. The 'stations' which had been closed were reopened. The pardoners resumed their trade, and were not to be checked; and the Archbishop wrote to Cromwell, imploring that he might be supported or else be allowed to resign.

The conservative reaction in England which, two years later, overthrew the Privy Seal, was gaining strength at the time; and the deputy, it appeared, possessed the confidence of the Duke of Norfolk and his friends, and looked to their support. George Paulet had told him that Cromwell was on the edge of destruction, and he, perhaps, believed himself safe in acting on the expectation.[1] But a clearer brain than belonged to Lord Leonard Grey was required to tread safely the narrow ridge which divided reaction from treason. The deputy was encouraged to oppose the semi-Lutheran Protestants; he dared at last to countenance the Romanists. The home Government had nominated a Dr Nangle to the Bishopric of Clontarf. The Pope, in opposition, appointed one of the Bourkes of Clanrickard. Nangle was expelled from the See; and the deputy, though ordered to prosecute the intruder under the Statute of Provisors, left him quietly in possession.[2] Following the same policy, he had come to an open rupture with Lord Ormond and his son, and as he advanced further along his perilous road his Irish con-

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 551, &c.

[2] Cowley to Cromwell: ibid. vol. iii. p. 51.

nections gained increasing influence over him. He ceased to hold communications with the council, and selected a private circle of advisers from the partisans and relations of the Earl of Kildare. Gerald Mac Gerald, who had been a prominent leader in the rebellion, was appointed marshal of the army; and Geraldine marauders, who had been in prison, were let loose from their cages, and returned to their old habits. Kildare's two sons-in-law, O'Connor and O'Carroll, were received into favour; and Grey's Irish tendencies had developed themselves so rapidly, that at the Midsummer of 1538, four months after St Leger had left Dublin, Lord James Butler wrote, 'My Lord Deputy is the Earl of Kildare newly born again, not only in destroying of those that always had served the King's Majesty, but in maintaining the whole sect, band, and alliance of the said Earl, after so vehement and cruel a sort as hath not been seen.'[1] The frontier fortresses which had been built for the defence of Kilkenny were taken out of the hands of the Earl of Ormond, and bestowed on O'Carroll.[2] The family retainers of the Butlers could not appear in Dublin streets without danger of being insulted. 'If all Ireland,' Lord Butler said, 'should devise to enfeeble the Englishry of this land, and by a mean under-colour of indifferency to strengthen the Irishry, they would not imagine more earnester ways than my Lord Deputy now doth.' Desmond, through his connivance,[3] was stronger than ever in the south.

[1] Lord Butler to Cowley: *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 32.

[2] Ormond to Cowley: ibid. p. 53.

[3] 'My Lord Deputy hath so

'Through comfort of him' O'Neil again levied black rent in Meath, Mac Morrough in Wexford and Kilkenny, O'Carroll in Tipperary. Finally, Lord Butler declared that he would never again 'take harness' under Lord Leonard, unless with special orders from the King; and the old Earl of Ormond, who four years before had saved Ireland, was with difficulty prevented from crossing the Channel, sick and dying though he was, and being carried to London in a horse-litter to lay his complaints before the throne.[1] Ormond was true as steel; wilful falsehood never crossed his lips, and charges which he guaranteed by his own knowledge may be assumed to have been certainly true. His evidence furnishes, with Sir John Allen's, the single firm spots of ground on which we can place our feet in the quaking morass of Irish State papers.

Desmond was at this moment contriving the scheme, which he had laid before the Pope, of another insurrection, to be supported by the Spaniards, and was busy consulting the Irish chiefs, and reconciling their feuds with one another. The O'Neils in the north had been checked hitherto by their hereditary rivals the O'Donnells. Religion was rapidly obliterating this and similar

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strengthened this James of Desmond, that all the captains of Munster, in effect, are of his band; and is of greater strength by means of my Lord Deputy than any Earl of Desmond that has been these many years. And as I am credibly informed, he hath counselled the said Desmond to make war upon me for such lands as my son James hath in his wife's right.'—Ormond to Cowley: ibid. p. 54.

[1] Lord Butler to Cowley: ibid. p. 30; Ormond to Cromwell: ibid. p. 93.

dissensions, and weaving a Catholic confederacy. The union promised well throughout the island; and Desmond's exertions were ably seconded by a sister of the late Earl of Kildare. Lady Eleanor Fitzgerald had been the wife of McCarty Reagh, of Munster. In the fastnesses of the Cork mountains she had given a shelter to her nephew Gerald, Lord Thomas's brother, and now titular earl. Her husband dying, she resolved to gain over another powerful clan to the common cause, by giving her hand to the chief of the O'Donnells. The marriage was regarded as the sacrament of the general reconciliation. It was arranged at a conference which her son the McCarty, the Earl of Desmond, and Lord Gerald held with ambassadors from O'Neil. When the meeting was over, Lady Eleanor began, without delay, her progress to the north to her future husband, and, taking her nephew with her, she paid a visit first to O'Brien in Thomond. Thence she went into Galway to the Bourkes, and so through Sligo to O'Donnell's own country. O'Neil, who had married her sister, joined her there; and thus the interests of the young Gerald were adopted by a coalition of all the great Irish leaders. A body-guard of four-and-twenty men was assigned to him, as a security against attempts at assassination; and the chiefs took an oath never to rest till they had restored him to his rank and estates.[1] This was the opportunity which Lord Leonard Grey had chosen to play into the hands of the Geraldines of the Pale, to put im-

[1] Ormond to the Council: *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 44.

portant fortresses into the hands of his Irish neighbours, to strengthen Desmond at the expense of the Butlers. The follies of the council may have been great; but if the deputy was to be acquitted of treason, his own were incomparably greater. June 25.

His other proceedings were not calculated to restore the confidence of the loyalists. He could not have been ignorant of the confederacy. But he imagined that he might gain the hearts of the Irish by placing himself in their power. The chiefs, who could not desire to see the Government at Dublin in more convenient hands, were delighted to encourage him with hospitality. He accepted a safe-conduct from them—an action of itself dangerously culpable—and crossed with a small retinue, under an escort from O'Connor, into Connaught. Here he was met by Desmond, whose usurpation of authority in Cork and Kerry he recognized and sanctioned.[1] With the rebel Earl for a companion, he then paid a visit into Thomond, where, with his servants in the King's uniform, he accompanied O'Brien in an attack upon a bordering clan.[2] Following the steps of Lady Eleanor, he went next to Galway, to the Bourkes, where he received the rival Bishop, whom he had allowed to supersede Dr Nangle in the See of Clontarf. In the expedition to Limerick, two years before, he had left his heavy guns under the care of the mayor. The guns

[1] *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 54, &c.

[2] 'For a certain reward which O'Brien gave to my Lord Deputy he is gone with the said O'Brien and James of Desmond to war upon Murrough O'Brien with all his host; and have promised, for a like reward, to go with Ulick Bourke upon Mac William.'—Ormond to Cowley: ibid. p. 48.

were shipped at Limerick by his order, brought round, and left among the Irish. Wherever he went, so far as his ability or knowledge extended, Lord Leonard deposed and deprived every person well affected to the English, of whatever power or authority they possessed, and replaced them with adherents of Kildare.[1]

After these achievements, represented as I have described them by those who wished well to England, he returned to Dublin, and sent a report of his expedition to the King, relating it as a brilliant success—a triumphal progress—in which the Irish chieftains, being reasonably dealt with, had conducted themselves like reasonable men, and had promised and had given pledges that ever after they would be loyal subjects to the Crown.[2] Lord Grey's story was supported by his confidential servant Ap Parry, who attended the progress, and furnished the Government with an account of it. Viscount Gormanstone, on the other hand, who was also one of the party, and was a disinterested witness, confirmed the story of Aylmer and Allen, and shook the credit of

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[1] 'The late O'Carroll being deceased, he preferred to his room Fergananym O'Carroll, son-in-law of the late Earl of Kildare, delivering the whole strengths and garrisons of the country into his hands; and, as we be informed, took divers garrisons in Ormond, delivering the same to O'Connor and O'Carroll's friends, being of the Geraldine band. Being in Connaught, he hath put down Mac William, and hath made one Ulick de Burgh captain, which Ulick is of the Geraldine band.'—Brabazon, Aylmer, and Allen to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 56.

[2] *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 57. The value of the pledges was not considerable. O'Brien, for instance, put in his son, but stipulated that he should remain in the hands of the Earl of Desmond.—Ibid. p. 59.

the follower as well as his master, by mentioning that he had shared in the bribes which had been largely offered to both of them, and had been as largely received.[1] The deputy asserted that he had gone by the advice of the council; the council absolutely disclaimed the responsibility;[2] while Gormanstone again gave the inconvenient opinion that his safety and seeming success were due solely and entirely to his connection with the Geraldines.[3]

Among so many contradictions, the King knew not what to believe. Grey had powerful friends among the English noblemen; and the experience of the last few years had wearied the patience both of Henry and Cromwell. Their hands were already full, and they were without leisure for a minute investigation. It was more easy to distribute the fault among all parties; and instead of entering on the merits of the quarrel, they addressed a rebuke both to the deputy and the Earl of Ormond, who was his chief accuser, commanding them to be reconciled without delay, and to show in future better temper and better judgment. The points in which Ormond professed to have been injured should be settled by arbitration of the Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, and the Lord Treasurer. The order was

[1] *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 62, note.

[2] 'As concerning this journey that he made, there was none of the King's council privy that he would have gone any further than O'Carroll's country, neither can we hitherto know the cause or ground thereof. It was in God's hands that he ever returned, for he had not with him above a hundred Englishmen, and most of them without harness.'—Brabazon, Aylmer, and Allen to Cromwell: ibid. p. 83.

[3] Ibid. p. 62.

peremptory, and was in form obeyed. The Earl, Lord Butler, the council, and the deputy met in Dublin. Lord Leonard had called the Butlers traitors—he was required to prove his words; and he and Ormond brought forward their respective charges in writing.[1] The arbitrators, under Cromwell's direction, decided that on both sides the accusations should be dropped. The Earl and his son should swear to serve in future loyally under the deputy; the deputy should accept the Butlers as faithful subjects. The proud noblemen consented with haughty reluctance. They shook hands, and there was outward peace. But it was a peace which was ill founded and ill cemented. The Irish confederacy remained, though the personal quarrel was at an end. If on each side there had been faults of manner, the essence and reality of the fault had been confined to one. Ormond was a loyal nobleman and a sensible man. The conduct of Grey can be interpreted only as rising out of treachery, or from a folly which approached insanity. The Master of the Rolls, in reporting to Cromwell the result of the meeting, assured him, again and again, that the Earl had been entirely correct in his account of the expedition into the west; that the reconciliation could not be of long endurance; and that if the King desired an effective administration of Ireland, he must recall Lord Leonard Grey.[2]

August.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 74—82.

[2] 'We have communed with the Earl of Ormond and his son for proof of their book; they say the most part of the matter is so notorious that it needeth no further proof. But we must be plain to your lordship that, as far as we can perceive, this agreement will not long endure

It would have been well for the deputy had he been spared further opportunity of doing injury. But Henry determined to give him another chance. The discovery of Desmond's intrigues with Paul III. made further trifling in that quarter impossible; and, believing in Grey's loyalty, he trusted that, when his eyes were opened, his abilities as a soldier would be useful. The intentions of the Irish, indeed, no longer were open to any uncertainty. Messengers were found to be passing to and fro between O'Neil, James of Scotland, and the Pope.[1] In the spring of 1539 they had drawn out a plan of an intended campaign, in combination with the movements which were then contemplated in Europe. When the Emperor and Francis landed in England, the King of Scots was to cross into Ulster, and would descend on Dublin with the force of the North. The Geraldine clan would rise in the Pale, and sweep the English into the sea; and O'Neil would proclaim himself King of Ireland on Tara Hill.[2] If James was required on his own Border, as he might be, he could be dispensed with. The chiefs were resolute, and equal to the work of themselves. 'The friars and

1539. March.

between my Lord Deputy and them. Neither can we perceive (whereof we be sorry) that my Lord Deputy is meet to make longer abode here, for he is so hawte and chafing that men be afeared to speak to him, doubting his bravish lightness, nevertheless, it is much pity of him, for he is an active gentleman.'—*State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 83.

[1] 'The Bishop of Rome is the only author of their detestable purpose, and the King of Scots a special comforter and abettor. There passeth daily messengers from them to Scotland, and from thence to Rome.'—Allen to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 136.

[2] Confession of Connor More O'Connor: ibid. pp. 139, 140.

priests of all the Irishry did preach daily that every man ought, for the salvation of his soul, to fight and make war against the King's Majesty and his true subjects; and if any of them did die in the quarrel, his soul that so should be dead should go to heaven, as the souls of St Peter and St Paul, which suffered death and martyrdom for God's sake.'[1] The enterprise in Ireland, as elsewhere, terminated abortively, the Emperor, who was its central spring, declining to be set in motion. The Celtic chiefs, however, who, had the business become serious, would not perhaps have been the most effective of the confederates, were the last to relinquish the agitation. Their menaces continued loud till the summer; and in July Desmond 'began the dance' by attacking Kilkenny. Lord Leonard, who for the time had recovered his senses, now found O'Connor, whom the year before he had called 'his right hand,' to be the rankest of traitors.[2] He thought there was more falsehood in the Irish 'than in all the devils in hell;'[3] and he had so weakened the Earl of Ormond that it was doubtful whether any part of Munster could be protected. . . . . He was roused at last, it seemed. The plan of the rebels was that O'Neil and O'Donnell should make their way with young Fitzgerald to Maynooth. Desmond was then to join them; and they calculated that the name of Kildare would set the coun-

July.

[1] Confession of Thomas Lynch: *State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 140, 141.

[2] 'I think certainly there is no ranker traitor inwardly in his heart than he is, whatsoever he sayth outwardly.'—Lord Leonard Grey to Cromwell: ibid. p. 144.

[3] Ibid.

try about Dublin in a flame. Lord Leonard, accompanied by Allen, who was now Lord Chancellor, anticipated the move by meeting O'Neil on the borders of Ulster. An action followed, attended with the usual results; the gallowglass could not stand before the English men-at-arms;[1] they fled hopelessly, and the coronation of O'Neil at Tara was for a time deferred. The Butlers, with more difficulty, kept at bay the Earl of Desmond. The clans were prevented from joining; and at length, in the autumn, having accomplished nothing, they settled back into quiet. October.

Community of danger, and apparent community of desire to act rightly, for the moment reconciled the deputy and the council, and restored the former to the respect of Ormond. In the winter Lord Leonard made a progress in Munster, undoing, so far as he was able, his previous mistakes; and the Earl, on the 20th of December, wrote in better spirits to Cromwell, saying that the old differences were at last forgotten, and, 'God willing,' should neither be revived nor remembered.[2] The deputy wrote with equal cordiality. The council united in a joint despatch, extolling Grey's gallantry in the insurrection, and entreating the King to confer upon him some mark of approbation; and Henry, eager to encourage the improvement which at last seemed real, replied with a New-year's gift.[3] But the moral state of Ireland was as fickle as its climate,

[1] Cowley to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 149.
[2] Ormond to Cromwell: ibid. p. 154.
[3] The Council of Ireland to Henry VIII.: ibid. p. 173.

and tempests quickly alternated with sunshine. In the midst of the general goodwill, Lord Leonard sent home a request that he might be allowed a few days' or weeks' respite from his labours. He was anxious to marry, he said, and, if only for a short time, to breathe English air again. The council endorsed his petition; and Henry, in acquiescing, showed so little intention of remembering bygone failures, that he advised him, if he was coming over, to lose no time; in May operations would recommence against the Irish, and his presence would be required.[1] In the interval between the presentation of the request and the arrival of the King's reply, dissension had returned in all its fury; and with dissension, one of the periodic fits of what may be called madness in the deputy. It seems that the English residents at or near Dublin, with the majority of the army, were inclined to treat the Irish as an inferior race —as a nation of treacherous, cowardly slaves, who deserved neither the privileges nor the respect of free, honourable men. The King had insisted that all his loyal subjects, whatever was their blood, were equal before the law, and equal in his own estimation.[2] But

[1] Henry VIII. to Grey: *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 194.

[2] 'Forasmuch as we be credibly informed that sundry of our retinue there doth both in words and deeds misbehave themselves towards our good and loving subjects of that country, as in calling them traitors, and in violently taking their goods and commodities from them, our pleasure and commandment is that you shall cause a proclamation to be made, commanding by the same, upon pain of death, that no man be so hardy so to misuse himself in word or deed towards any of our said good subjects of the birth of that our land.'—Henry VIII. to Grey: ibid. p. 195.

his injunctions were imperfectly attended to; he was contending with a feeling which the reluctant subjugation of an alien race rendered inevitable in their conquerors—at once conscious of the weakness of their numbers, and proud of their personal superiority. The antagonism of English and Irish could be understood and partially excused; and although the deputy, who was related by blood to both peoples, ought to have held the balance between them impartially, his error, if he had inclined to one side or the other, would at least have been intelligible. But Lord Leonard, to his misfortune, treated such Irishmen as were out of favour with the Geraldines with English insolence and tyranny.[1] Under pretence of doing equal justice, he allowed the Geraldine dependents to avenge their own real or imagined injuries on the settlers of the Pale with their own hands. At the close of his administration he ventured on an act which only his own confession would have obliged us to credit. In a list of accusations to which he pleaded guilty is the following clause :— 1540. March.

Whereas it is ordained by authority of Parliament that, if any person shall draw, incite, or procure, by any manner of means, any Irishman to come in hostility into the King's dominion, to rob or spoil any of the King's subjects, or consent to the same, either by comforting or abetting any such Irishman before the act, or, after the same committed, shall aid, favour, and

[1] 'The Lord Leonard never made recompense of any wrong that ever he did to any Irishman.'—*State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 259.

maintain, by any manner of mean, such malefactors, shall be deemed traitor of high treason, and suffer the penalties of the same; the Lord Leonard, nevertheless, comforted and abetted one Kedagh O'More, an Irishman, with a company of horsemen and footmen, to come twenty miles within the county of Kildare, to rob the barony of Oughtryn, and safely to return with the prede and spoil of the country, the like whereof hath not been seen. And a servant of his lordship's, called Edmund Asbold, was guide and conductor to the said malefactors, commanding the men of war of the country not to stir in the resistance of the same, for it was my Lord Deputy's commandment the same acts should be committed. And the said Asbold, with the principal malefactors, after the same act committed, and after they were for the same indicted of high treason, were as conversant and familiar with his Lordship as they were before, without attaching; and the inhabitants of the county, if the justices would have received the indictment, did present my lord as principal in the act committed. And touching the same, my lord confessed with advisement, in open council, sufficient matter to convict him of the same. And because the matter of itself is so evident against my lord, the King's council and justices ordered that his lordship should be chargeable to the poor people for their losses.'[1]

After this exploit, and after having, in addition, released from Dublin Castle a number of Irish prisoners

[1] Articles of Accusation against Grey: *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 259.

convicted of high treason, Grey represented to the King that the country was profoundly quiet. He reduced the army, and bequeathing as a legacy to Sir William Brereton, who was left as lord justice in his absence, to trust no one of the council, or he would be undone, he sailed for England. No sooner was he gone than the quiet of which he had spoken was turned to uproar. On the 30th of April O'Connor was killing and burning on the West Marches. On the 7th of May the Wicklow freebooters were cattle-driving under the walls of Dublin. 'To be plain with your lordship,' Brereton wrote to Cromwell, 'the deputy hath left this land in marvellous evil sort and danger;'[1] and Ormond confirming the same story, and details of Grey's late extravagances reaching the Government at the same time, the King could endure it no longer. Exasperated by disappointment, the waste of money, and the hopelessness of the whole miserable business, he determined at all events that he would know the truth. He sent Grey to the Tower, and he wrote to Ormond, Sir John Allen, and Brabazon to repair to his presence on the instant for an examination of their own and the deputy's conduct.

The tongues of Lord Leonard's enemies were instantly loosed; accusations, wise and foolish, poured in from every side. Archbishop Brown remembered that once in Lord Leonard's presence he had called Reginald Pole a Popish cardinal, and the deputy in return had

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 200.

called him 'a polshorn knave friar.' He hinted that the King's cannon had been left at Galway for Pole or Pole's friends to find them there.[1] Stories came out of secret dealings with Irish chiefs. The King's representative had taken bribes; he had assisted O'Neil to destroy a chief named McGuire, who had been a friend to the English; he had set at large convicted traitors; he had favoured the Geraldines, and corresponded with his nephew the pretended Earl of Kildare. Ormond and the chancellor, when they crossed the Channel, carried with them an indictment of ninety counts, each one of which, if proved, would bring destruction with it.[2]

The charges were laid before Parliament, and in the first displeasure a bill of attainder was presented in the House of Lords.[3] It was withdrawn four days after; perhaps because the confusion and distress which had followed Grey's departure, and had lasted into the summer, had prevented a temperate inquiry. Sir Anthony St Leger was appointed deputy, and Henry, in sending him to his government, directed him to complete the investigation.

It was done—done, as St Leger's character forbids us to doubt, with judgment and impartiality; and it resulted in the establishment of a case against Grey, which admitted only the palliation of possible insanity. Originally unfit for a position of command, he was sent

[1] Archbishop Brown to Cromwell: *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 208.
[2] Ibid. p. 249, &c.
[3] *Lords Journals*, 32 Henry VIII. July 17.

to govern a country which had tried the brain and wrecked the reputation of many a wiser man. His recommendation had been his connection with a powerful native family; and the choice of a relation of the Geraldines implied a desire on the part of the English administration to conciliate. But to pursue prudently a policy of conciliation towards a half-conquered insubordinate race is the most arduous task which a ruler can be called on to discharge, and the connection had only surrounded him with seductive influences. His official advisers were, for the most part, little wiser than himself; and his mind yielded to a burden to which it was fundamentally unequal. His complicated embarrassments unhinged a disposition which nature had imperfectly balanced. After each and all the articles of accusation had been sifted, five of the most important were considered to have been substantiated.

In a meeting of the English privy council, on the 15th of December (after Cromwell had fallen, it is to be remembered, and when the peers had recovered their weight), 'It was agreed, after long and mature consideration, that the Lord Leonard Grey, late the King's deputy in Ireland, being led by the affection which he bare to the Geraldines, by reason of the marriage between his sister and the late Earl of Kildare, had done and committed heinous offences against the King's Majesty, and especially in the five points following, that is to say:— December.

'1. The entertaining of Margaret O'Connor, O'More's sons, Prior Walsh and his brother, knowing

the same to be the King's traitors, rebels, and enemies, and that before they had any pardon.

'2. The setting up of Fergananym O'Carroll, the King's enemy, and the destruction of McGuire, the King's friend, with the taking of his castle.

'3. The setting at liberty Talbot Fitz Piers, Fitzgerald, and the Dean of Derry, being the King's subjects, and committed by the council to ward upon heinous points of treason.

'4. The procuring and maintenance of O'More's sons to rob and spoil the King's subjects.

'5. The entertaining of Edmund Asbold, after that he knew that the said Edmund was indicted of treason, with his word unto him bidding him to shift for himself.'

'Unless the said Lord Leonard could make better answer for himself unto these things he was in great danger.'[1]

Lord Leonard had attempted to defend himself by reviving a counter-charge of treason against Ormond.[2] He could not disprove his own offences; he failed to make good his case against another. He was sent to trial, and, feeling his position hopeless, he spared the jury the duty of pronouncing against him by pleading guilty, and throwing himself on a mercy which was not extended to him. His fate might be pitied, but could not be condemned in an age in which peers and com-

[1] *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vol. vii. pp. 90, 91.
[2] Ibid. p. 88.

moners were unequal in the eye of justice, and responsibility was increased in proportion to the rank of the offender.

With Lord Leonard Grey the chapter of Irish misfortunes for the time was closed. The rule of folly was over—the rule of prudence commenced, and for the remaining years of the reign of Henry VIII. Ireland settled down, apparently for ever, into an attitude of quiescent obedience. Something of the improvement was due to the judgment of the ablest statesman who as yet had undertaken the administration of the country; something, also, to the skill with which Henry threw a bait to the Celtic chieftains, which they swallowed with unreluctant greediness. Their devotion to the Pope was considerable in quantity, and in substance was moderately genuine. It was not proof, however, against the temptation of a share in the spoils of 'religion.' In a full Parliament held by St Leger in Dublin, at which O'Neil, Desmond, O'Brien, O'Donnell, Mac William, and the other most turbulent Irish leaders were present, the religious houses, which five years before had been saved by the clergy, were condemned to the same fortune which they had experienced in England. The lands were distributed among the Irish nobles on terms so easy as to amount to a present; and the participation in the sacrilege, and the actual accomplishment of the suppression, if it did not inspire the Celtic leaders with gratitude towards England, yet suspended the friend- 1541.

liness of their relations with the recusant priests at home and with the Romanists abroad. While digesting the heavy meal they were contented to be at rest—and in a general interchange of cordialities and courtesies the late confederates, who had sworn to drive the English from the country, conferred on Henry the title of King of Ireland. Henry in return distributed peerages on those who had most deserved them by persevering hostility; while the amity was completed by the appearance of Donough O'Brien, Morrough O'Brien, and Ulick Bourke, to partake of the splendid hospitalities of Greenwich, and to receive their investitures respectively as Baron of Ibrachain and Earls of Thomond and Clanrickard.[1]

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[1] *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 473. For the suppression of the religious houses and the distribution of the lands, see *Irish Statutes*, 32 Henry VIII. cap. 5; and *State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 295-6, 334, 339, 392, 463-5, 474.

CHAPTER XIX.

SOLWAY MOSS.

CROMWELL had fallen: the shock which, at the news, once vibrated through Europe, 1540. July. the exulting hopes, the speculations, the terrors which that brief sentence stirred at every English fireside, we, who read of the catastrophe as but one event in a revolution, a fact long completed in the far-distant past, can never, except languidly, realize. Cromwell was the spirit of evil who had thrown a spell over the King, and entangled him in a war against Heaven. Cromwell was the upstart adventurer who had set his foot upon the necks of the Norman nobles. Cromwell was 'the hammer of the monks,' who had uncovered the nakedness of the abbeys, and had exposed the servants of God to ignominy and spoliation. And some few there were to whom he appeared as a champion raised up by Providence to accomplish a mighty work, and overthrown at last by the wiles of Satan. 'Now,' said Lord Surrey, 'is that foul churl dead, so ambitious of others' blood; now is he stricken with his own staff.'[1]

[1] Deposition of Sir Edward Knyvet: *MS. State Paper Office*,

A servant of Cromwell in the Exchequer had married a nun. The Duke of Norfolk met the man a few days after the execution: 'I know ye well enough,' the Duke said: 'by God's body sacred it will never out of my heart as long as I live.' The servant quoted Scripture. 'I never read the Scripture,' the Duke answered, 'nor never will read it: it was merry in England afore the new learning came up; yea, I would all things were as hath been in times past.'[1] 'I did ask of my friends,' said a Mr Lascelles, 'what news there were pertaining to God's holy Word. We have lost, I said, so noble a man, which did love and favour it so well. I supposed the ringleaders, as the Duke of Norfolk and my Lord of Winchester, not to lean that way; and I did advise that we should not be too rash and quick; for if we would let them alone, and suffer a little time, they would, I doubted not, overthrow themselves, standing manifestly against God and their prince.'[2]

These are specimens of the language used by different men, according to their sympathies, in the summer and autumn of 1540. Meanwhile, Anne of Cleves being pensioned off, the King married, without delay or circumstance, Catherine, daughter of Lord Edmund Howard. Three full years of unproductiveness had gone since Jane Seymour's death; and

August.

Domestic. Knyvet answering that 'it was sin to say ill of dead men,' Surrey replied, 'These new-created men would by their wills leave no nobleman in life.'

[1] Papers endorsed Lascelles and Smithwick: *MS. State Paper Office, Domestic.*

[2] *MS.* ibid.

Henry's unpromising constitution was matter of calculation in Scotland.[1] If there were to be more children, the precious time might not be longer squandered. 'His Highness,' therefore, 'was earnestly and humbly solicited by his council and nobles of his realm to frame his heart to the love and favour of some noble personage, to be joined with him in lawful matrimony, by whom his Majesty might have some more store of fruit and succession to the comfort of the realm.' In compliance with the request, repeated as it had been with wearying frequency, 'upon a notable appearance of honour, cleanness, and maidenly behaviour, in Mistress Catherine Howard, his Highness was finally contented to honour that lady with his marriage, thinking in his old days, after sundry troubles of mind which has happened to him by marriage, to have obtained such a jewel for womanhood and very perfect love towards him as should not only have been to his quietness, but also have brought forth the desired fruits of marriage.'[2] The domestic arrangements were established at last, October. it was to be hoped, satisfactorily. Elsewhere the consequences of the change threatened to be considerable. The impression that the destruction of the Protestant alliance would place England on good terms with the Catholic powers was but partially true. The recovery of power by the conservative party implied of itself im-

[1] 'The Laird of Grange did say, that King Henry, being corpulent and fat, there was small hopes of his having heirs,' &c.—*Memoirs of Sir James Melville.*

[2] The Privy Council to Sir William Paget: *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. vii. p. 352.

proved relations with the Empire. The English nobles were constant to the national traditions of enmity and friendship; the alliance of the French was a thing of yesterday; the princes of Spain and Burgundy had stood side by side with England for five generations. The interest rather perhaps than the sentiment of Charles V. taught him to respond to the feeling; he was gratified not a little by the sacrifice of Anne of Cleves; and in the concluding months of the year the renewal of the early engagement between himself and the Princess Mary was talked of openly both in Flanders and England.[1] The Duke of Cleves, on the other hand, on the verge of a quarrel with the Emperor for the Duchy of Gueldres, sought and obtained the support of France, cementing his alliance by a marriage with the daughter of the Queen of Navarre.

Indications were thus apparent of a change of partners preparatory to the opening of a new game: and little differences simultaneously arose between the Courts of London and Paris, which might easily have been composed had there been a desire to settle them, but which, as easily, with the wind in the wrong quarter, might be fanned into a quarrel.

By the treaty drawn at Moor Park in 1525, and a second time ratified in London in 1532,[2] the French and English Governments had undertaken respectively to give neither shelter nor countenance to refugees. In virtue of this obligation Henry had demanded the cap-

[1] *State Papers*, vol. viii.

[2] RYMER, vol. vi. part 2, p. 171.

ture and extradition of Reginald Pole; and now other persons, especially a pretender calling himself the White Rose, though with as little Plantagenet blood in him as was in Perkin Warbeck, were residing openly in Paris, circulating the libels against England with which the Catholic presses were teeming. The French Government, not unnaturally, declined to be bound by conditions regarding political offenders, into which they had entered while the contracting parties were alike in communion with Rome. Treason in an Englishman had become respectable; and a Catholic power could not consent to surrender to death or enforced apostasy men whose crime was fidelity to the Church. A formal demand for 'the White Rose' was evaded or refused.[1] The English minister was pressing. Francis was loud and peremptory. The scene between Wyatt and the Emperor in the similar instance of Brancetor all but repeated itself.

A bad spirit simultaneously showed itself on the Marches at Calais and Guisnes. The defensive works at both these places had been largely increased in the three last years. Additions, since the discovery of Botolph's plot, had been made to the garrisons, while in the late summer as many as sixteen hundred men had been employed in cutting trenches and throwing up batteries. The French had stationed a force at Ardes to watch these proceedings, and extend their own defences in proportion; and the boundary line not being

[1] Wallop to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 436.

rigidly defined, and Calais being the sensitive point of difference between the two countries, there had been quarrels among the opposition gangs of labourers. Trenches which had been cut by one party were filled in by the other; Lord Maltravers, the English deputy, was fired on by an ambuscade; and although officially the Governments affected to regret the unruliness of their subjects, neither would yield anything of their supposed rights.[1] Lord William Howard was sent to Paris to ascertain, if possible, the real feeling towards England, and at the same time to learn how matters stood between Francis and the Emperor. The Earl of Hertford went to Calais to arrange the disputes with a French commissioner, and with directions to hint that if treaties were systematically broken, 'if the French would omit to accomplish that whereunto they were bound, and sought daily to claim that whereunto they had no title, they might drive the King of England to seek and claim his right in some other things, and might hear that which should percase redound to their disadvantage.'[2] The 'some other things' referred to an old debt which had arrived at dimensions not easy to deal with. A series of money transactions, dating back into the fifteenth century, and complicated further by the war of 1513, by the redemption money which Francis had engaged to pay for the restoration of Tournay, and other intricacies, had been adjusted and simplified in

[1] Maltravers to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 460; Wallop to Henry VIII.: ibid.

[2] Henry VIII. to Hertford: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 523.

the treaty of Moor Park. It was there agreed that France should pay to England two million crowns, at the rate of a hundred thousand crowns a year; that if Henry survived the completion of the payment, the annual hundred thousand crowns should be continued to him as a pension for his life; that, in addition, a perpetual pension should be paid to himself and his successors of fifty thousand crowns, with a further proportion of the salt duties.[1] Eight hundred thousand crowns had been since added to the principal, in two sums of three and five hundred thousand crowns each, which Henry had advanced to redeem the French princes when in prison in Spain; and another half million had been advanced for the expenses of the Italian campaign of De Lautrec, in 1528. Whether any, or if any, how much, of these additional debts, would be claimed, or were likely to be recovered, was an unsettled question. The light-hearted Francis held vague notions of pecuniary obligations. The original payments were already far in arrear; and for the last six years no money had been forthcoming, nor mention or promise of money. Henry being anxious, for many reasons, to keep on good terms with Francis, had not pressed his claims; but the twenty years were approaching their term. The composition had originally been more than favourable to France; and in fairness to his own heavily-burdened subjects the King would be forced to demand an explanation. November.

[1] RYMER, vol. vi. part 2, p. 21, &c.

In so delicate a matter it was necessary to be cautious. The temper of the French Government was evidently uncertain. It appeared as if they were calculating on the known embarrassments of England; and a formal request for payment might be followed by repudiation, which it would be dishonourable to bear, and dangerous to resent. An opportunity must be taken when the improved relations with the Empire had assumed consistency, and Charles and Francis were on less amicable terms. The aspect of things had changed, but the change was recent. But a few months since the two Catholic princes had discussed an invasion of England, and Henry had attempted a combination to take Charles prisoner and deprive him of his Flemish provinces.

But the great powers were accustomed to varieties of attitude; and the insoluble Italian question remained still undigested. The English revolution had freed the Emperor from alarm of an Anglo-German confederacy; the retention of Milan was once more of greater importance than the friendship of Francis. He had held out hopes, it was true. He had used Milan as a bait, which Francis followed as often as it was thrown to him. Now, when he was pressed to convert his ambiguous promises into reality, he withdrew, much as he had done under similar circumstances five years before. In an interview with the Cardinal of Lorraine and with Montmorency, he said that he was so anxious to convert the truce into a peace, that he would do more than he had meant to do. He could not surrender a country

which formed the connecting link between Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries; but he would make over in its place the province of Flanders. The offer might have tempted a prudent prince, and satisfied a reasonable one. On Francis the answer had its usual effect. 'He could take Flanders,' he said, 'at his pleasure.' He would have Milan or nothing.[1]

The Emperor was of course prepared for the reply, and thus, it was at least likely, intended to drift towards England. Henry, on the other hand, knowing accurately how slight thanks he owed to either of his brother princes for his present tenure of his throne, was entitled and able to take advantage of their necessities, and to choose the alliance which suited best with English interests.

Nevertheless, both at home and abroad, his course was still intricate, his position critical. Abroad, he knew himself to be dealing with Governments which convenience might make his allies, but could never make his friends. At home, the virulence of the ultra-reactionaries, which the sacrifice of Cromwell had for the moment appeased, recommenced as soon as it was found that the King was constant to his general policy; that the Bible was still to have its course; that the clergy were not to be liberated from their chains. Conspicuous persons who had been intimate with the fallen minister, became the objects of secret accusations; and the opening of the new year

1541. January.

[1] Lord Herbert, p. 225; *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 641.

was signalized by the arrest, on a charge of treason, of Sir John Wallop and Sir Thomas Wyatt. The accuser of Wyatt was Bonner, now Bishop of London; his supposed offences were slanderous expressions used against the King at Nice, and a correspondence at the same place with Pole. Wallop had been informed against by a friend of the Duke of Norfolk, Richard Pate, the present English minister in Flanders—a disguised Romanist, who soon after showed his true colours.

An instance of unrelenting severity on the part of the King will be presently related: if he was inflexible where guilt had been ascertained, he was cautious, and even considerate, where there was only suspicion. Wallop, who had been superseded as ambassador at Paris in favour of Lord William Howard, was designed for the honourable and dangerous office of commandant at Guisnes. He was still in France; and the King wrote to Howard telling him that certain charges had been laid before him against his predecessor, and the second appointment must therefore, for a time at least, be suspended. 'Nevertheless, considering his long services done unto us,' Henry continued, 'and the place and office which he hath lately occupied for us, we have resolved, that before he shall be committed to any ward or prison, or that any such publication of his accusations shall be made as shall redound to his infamy and slander, he shall be familiarly conveyed by Sir Richard Long to our house in Southwark, and there secretly examined, to the intent he may know what is objected against him, and make such answer as he can: and if he can

clear himself—whereof we would be very glad—then to be admitted to our presence, and so entertained as his accusation should not tend to his slander.'[1] Wyatt was for some reason sent to the Tower; but he, too, like Sir John Wallop, was informed privately of the charges against him, and had an opportunity of sending in his explanations.[2] In both instances the defence was accepted readily and warmly. After a few weeks' inconvenience, the late ambassador was March. at his post in command of the garrison at Guisnes, and Wyatt was indemnified for his brief imprisonment by the grant of an estate from the Crown.[3] Justice was

[1] Henry VIII. to Lord William Howard: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 530.

[2] The scruple which was so careful of the reputation of a probably innocent gentleman has in Wallop's case prevented even the nature of the accusations from surviving. Sir Thomas Wyatt's supposed crimes are known only from his own defence. He was charged with having communicated secretly with Pole; with having said, when the pacification of Nice was concluded, that 'he feared the King should be cast out of the cart's tail, and by God's blood, if he were so, he was well served, and he would he were;' and, again, with having spoken against the Act of Supremacy. The first point was the misinterpretation of Bonner's malice. He had 'practised' to gain intelligence from Pole of the intentions of the Pope. 'He supposed that he had but discharged his duty in doing so. He had spoken loosely of the prospects of the King, he admitted. It was a fashion of speech, and not a good one; but that he had expressed his expectations in the form of a hope he denied utterly. Of the Act of Supremacy he allowed that he had said it would be sore rod in evil hands; and he supposed he had been right in saying so.'—NOTT'S *Wyatt*.

[3] The privy council, writing to Howard an account of this affair, said that Wallop at first denied having given any ground for suspicion; 'Whereupon the King's Majesty of his goodness caused his own letters written to Pate, that traitor, and others, to be laid before him, which when once he saw and read, he cried for mercy, knowledging his offences, with refusal of all trial, and only yielding himself to his Majesty's mercy; whereupon his Majesty, con-

the ruling principle of Henry's conduct; but it was justice without mercy. Ever ready to welcome evidence of innocence, he forgave guilt only among the poor and the uneducated; and for State offences there was but one punishment. A disposition naturally severe had been stiffened by the trials of the last years into harsher rigidity; and familiarity with executions, as with deaths in action, diminishes alike the pain of witnessing and of inflicting them. Loyalty was honoured and rewarded; the traitor, though his crime was consecrated by the most devoted sense of duty; was dismissed without a pang of compunction to carry his appeal before another tribunal.

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ceiving that he did not deny his transgressions with any purpose to cloke and cover the same, but only by slipperness of memory, and taking his submission, being surely both sorrowful and repentant, his Highness having also most humble suits and intercessions made unto him, both for him and for Wyatt, by the Queen, adding hereunto respect for his old service, hath forgiven him; so as, to be plain with you, we think he is at this present in no less estimation with his Majesty than he was before.'

'Now to Wyatt,' they added: 'He confessed, upon his examination, all the things objected to him; delivering his submission in writing, but with a like protestation that the same proceeded from him without spot of malice. In contemplation of which submission, his Highness hath given him his pardon in as large and ample a sort as his Grace gave to Sir John Wallop.'—The Council to Lord William Howard: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 545. It is clear that neither Wallop nor Wyatt were tried. The 'oration' of the latter, therefore, printed by Mr Nott, and described by him as addressed to a jury after the indictment and the evidence, was composed only, but not delivered. The prudence of a later age has wisely discontinued the practice of secret examinations previous to trial, as admitting of being alarmingly abused. Cases, however, like the present sometimes occurred when it furnished the readiest method of disposing of calumny.

The King, it was generally known, intended to go on progress in the approaching summer through the scenes of the great insurrection, and receive in person the apologies of his subjects. The Duke of Norfolk was on the Marches as lieutenant-general; and had received instructions to require from the Scottish sovereign the surrender of the refugee clergy who, four years previously, had escaped for shelter across the Border. These two facts, in combination with general fretfulness, may have formed the motives which induced a party of Yorkshire gentlemen to make another effort in the cause which had once promised so brilliantly among them. In April five priests and a few knights and squires rose in arms under Sir John Neville. They accomplished nothing. The movement was instantly suppressed; we do not learn that so much as a life was lost; but the rash agitators were taken, and sent to London and tried; and, on the 17th of May, Neville and nine others paid for their folly in the usual way.[1] The name of the leader and the date of the commotion connects an event otherwise too obscure to be of interest, with the fate of a noble lady whose treatment weighs heavily on the reputation of the King. April.

The Countess of Salisbury had remained under sentence of death by attainder for more than a year in the Tower. Her companion, Lady Exeter, had received a pardon, but had gone into freedom alone. An am-

[1] HALL, p. 841; Lord Herbert.

nesty had been proclaimed by Act of Parliament, but the mother of Reginald Pole had been exempted by name from the benefit of it. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that, after so long a delay, her punishment should have been suddenly resolved upon without provocation either from the Countess or from her friends. It may have been that Sir John Neville was acting under instructions from her. It may have been that he had unwisely desired, of his own accord, to strike a blow for the Church and for the head of his family. The impulses, the desires, the secret communications which were circulating below the surface of society have left few traces by which to follow them. At any rate, as the 'manlike' Margaret Plantagenet would have disclaimed and disdained indulgence on the plea of her sex, so the treason of women in the sixteenth century was no more considered to be entitled to immunity than their participation in grosser crimes is held so entitled in the nineteenth. The Countess had written a letter to her son of professed disapproval of his conduct, under the direction of the Government. She had corresponded with him secretly in a far different tone; and she had darkened the suspicions against her by a denial of all knowledge of the conspiracies of Lord Montague and Sir Geoffrey Pole, where her complicity had been proved. The last provocation which sealed her fate was perhaps an act of her own—perhaps it was the precipitate zeal of her friends—perhaps, like her brother the Earl of Warwick, she had committed only the fresh crime of continuing to be dangerous. Be it as

it may, on the day on which Sir John Neville suffered at York, and others among the conspirators at Tyburn, the grey head of the Countess of Salisbury fell upon the scaffold on the fatal green within the Tower.[1] To condemn is easy, instinctive, and possibly[2] right; to understand is also right, but is not easy. A settled age can imperfectly comprehend an age of revolution, or realize the indifference with which men risk their own blood and shed the blood of others when battling for a great cause. Another execution followed, which was as generally compassionated as Lady Salisbury's was regarded with indifference. The contrast of popular feeling may represent how vast has been the change, in the last three hundred years, in the comparative estimate of crime. The offence of the aged Countess, even though it could be proved to have been deliberate constructive treason, would appear still

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[1] Lord Herbert, without mentioning his authority, says that, 'when commanded to lay her head on the block, she refused, saying, 'So should traitors do; I am none.' Turning her head every way, she told the executioner, if he would have it, he must get it as he could.' I am unable to see in this story the dignity admired by Lingard; and unless it rests on the evidence of eye-witnesses, I am not inclined to give it credit. Cardinal Pole says that her last words were, 'Blessed are those who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake.' — *Epist. Reg. Pole*, vol. iii. p. 76.

[2] I say 'possibly,' for if we do not know that Lady Salisbury had given fresh provocation, as little do we know that she had not; while this much indisputably had been proved against her, that while her son was engaged in a course of actions which the laws of all countries regard as the most criminal which a subject can commit, Lady Salisbury encouraged him in treason; and she encouraged, if she did not actively participate in, the conspiracy at home, which was designed to act in concert with an invasion.

too little to palliate, or even explain, her death. A murder, though unpremeditated, remains among the few acts to which modern sentiment refuses indulgence.

Lord Dacres of Hurstmonceaux, a young nobleman of high spirit and promise, not more than four-and-twenty years old, was tempted by his own folly, or that of his friends, to join a party to kill deer in the park of an unpopular neighbour. The excitement of a lawless adventure was probably the chief or only inducement for the expedition; but the party were seen by the foresters: a fray ensued in which one of the latter was mortally wounded, and died two days after. The bearings of the case were very simple. Deer-stealing, like cattle-stealing, was felony; and where the commission of one crime leads to another and a worse, the most lenient administration is usually severe. Had Lord Dacres been an ordinary offender, he would have been disposed of summarily. Both he and his friends happened to be general favourites. The privy council hesitated long before they resolved on a prosecution: and at last it is likely they were assisted to a resolution by the King. When the indictment was prepared, the peers by whom Lord Dacres was to be tried held a preliminary meeting to consult on the course which they would pursue. 'I found all the lords at the Star Chamber,' Sir William Paget wrote to Wriothesley, 'assembled for a conference touching the Lord Dacres's case. They had with them present the Chief Justice, with others of the King's learned council, and albeit I was excluded, yet they spake so loud, some of them, that I

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might hear them, notwithstanding two doors shut between us. Among the rest that could not agree to wilful murder, the Lord Cobham, as I took him by his voice, was very vehement and stiff.'[1] They adjourned at last to the Court of King's Bench. The Lord Chancellor was appointed High Steward, and the prisoner was brought up to the bar. He pleaded 'not guilty;' he said that he had intended no harm; he was very sorry for the death of the forester, but it had been caused in an accidental scuffle; and 'surely,' said Paget, who was present, 'it was a pitiful sight to see such a young man brought by his own folly into so miserable a state.'[2] But a verdict of acquittal, or any verdict short of murder, was impossible. The lords, therefore, as it seems they had determined among themselves, persuaded him to withdraw his plea, and trust to the King's clemency. He consented: and they immediately repaired to the Court to intercede for his pardon. Eight persons in all were implicated—Lord Dacres and seven companions. The young nobleman was the chief object of commiseration; but the King remained true to his principles of equal justice; the frequency of crimes of violence had required extraordinary measures of repression; and if a poor man was to be sent to the gallows for an act into which he might have been tempted by poverty, thoughtlessness could not be admitted as an adequate excuse because the offender was a peer. Four out of the eight were pardoned. For

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[1] Paget to Sir Thomas Wriothesley: *MS. State Paper Office.*

[2] Ibid.

Lord Dacres there was to the last some uncertainty. He was brought out to the scaffold, when an order arrived to stay the execution; probably to give time for a last appeal to Henry. But if it was so, the King was inexorable. Five hours later the sheriff was again directed to do his duty; and the full penalty was paid.[1]

Neither crimes nor the punishment of crimes are grateful subjects. The nation, grown familiar with executions, ceased to be disturbed at spectacles which formed, after all, but a small portion of their daily excitements and interests. The historian, whose materials are composed, in so large part, of those exceptional occurrences which men single out for mention and record, sickens over these perpetual entries in the register of death. Yet, on the whole, Providence gives little good in this world, for which suffering, in large measure or small, is not exacted as payment, and the King and the country alike had reason to be on the whole well satisfied. A revolution, as beneficent as it was mighty, had been effected in a series of rapid and daring measures. The nation had reeled under the impulse, but the shock had spent its force. The Pope was a name of the past. The idle monks were working for their bread. The idle miracles had ceased to deceive. An English Bible was in every church, and the contents of it were fast passing into every English mind, bringing forward, inevitably as destiny, those further changes for which only

[1] For the account of this trial see the letter of Sir William Paget in the State Paper Office. *The Baga de Secretis*, pouch 12; HALL, p. 841; and HOLINSHED, vol. iii. p. 821.

time was needed. The rebellion which had raised its head had drooped into submission. Conspiracies had bled to death, and the Emperor had ceased to threaten; and even James of Scotland, swayed as he was by alternate influences, had learnt something from Henry's success. Kirkaldy of Grange, the Lord Treasurer, a true friend to the English alliance, for the moment had gained the ears of the fickle prince; not, of course, without advice from London, he determined to use the occasion of the northern progress to bring James again to agree to the meeting with his uncle; and, leaving no time for the purpose to cool, so to order his arrangements that the resolution should be acted upon as soon as it was made, and should be kept concealed from the party of the Church till it was too late for them to interpose.

Henry set out, on the 1st of July, in high spirits, for the north, accompanied by the Queen and council. He went by Ampthill into Lincolnshire, and passed purposely through that part of the country where the commotion had been greatest. On the border of Yorkshire he was met by 'two hundred gentlemen of the shire in coats of velvet, and four thousand tall yeomen well horsed.'[1] Every man of the whole company had, doubtless, worn the pilgrim's badges, and had followed St Cuthbert's banner. They now presented themselves in an eager demonstration of loyalty, and made their submission on their knees. The clergy, whose guilt

July 1.

[1] Hall.

had been greater, hastened, with the Archbishop at their head, to show equally their repentance, with professions and presents. The King went forward, surrounded by expressions of good-will; and to make his presence welcomed as a reality as much as admired as a pageant, he sent out proclamations that 'whosoever among his subjects found himself grieved for lack of justice, should have free access to declare his complaints, and have right at the hand of his Majesty.'[1] He visited Wressel Castle. He went to Hull to inspect the fortifications. At the end of August he was at Pomfret, and here evidence appeared of the Lord Treasurer's success at Edinburgh. 'One of the King of Scots' most secret councillors' arrived at the Court to arrange a meeting between the sovereigns before Henry's return to London.[2] The utmost caution was observed; every person concerned in making arrangements was sworn to secrecy;[3] and, 'although the matter was uncertain, the interview was thought not unlikely to take effect. Safe-conducts were prepared by the Lord Chancellor for the Scotch train, and were despatched in haste. The King proceeded to York; and at York, in the middle of September, James was expected to present himself. He was expected, and it may be supposed that he had really intended to come; but the proposal had been urged upon him without the privity of a statesman whose influence was a fascination. At the critical

September.

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. vii. p. 245.

[2] Henry VIII. to the Lord Chancellor: *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 680.

[3] Ibid. 681.

moment Cardinal Beton discovered the scheme, and in an instant all was changed.

The condition of Europe made the Scotch alliance more than ever necessary to France; and the Cardinal, having successfully interposed for the moment, set off to the French Court for instructions and help. A new phase of complications was about to open, and the opportunity of injury was not yet to be taken from him.

The intentions of France, and the connection of Scotland with them, will be related in their turn. For the present the story follows the King.

The principal object of the northern progress had failed. In October, Henry came back to Hampton Court to find a fresh domestic calamity preparing for him. Thirteen months had passed since his marriage with his present Queen. The connection had not been on the whole an unhappy one; and on the 1st of November, a few days after his return from Yorkshire, 'receiving his Maker, the King gave Him most hearty thanks for the good life he led and trusted to lead with her;' and, also, he desired the Bishop of Lincoln, his ghostly father, 'to make like prayers and to give like thanks with him.'[1] 'The whole realm, in respect of the virtues and good behaviour which she showed outwardly, did her all honour accordingly.'[2] Though other trials might pursue Henry till his death, he believed himself secure of the attachment and uprightness of Catherine Howard. The day after

October.

November.

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. vii. p. 352. [2] Ibid.

he had thus warmly expressed his confidence, a letter was brought to him from Cranmer, revealing a story of profligacy necessary to be told, yet too hideous to dwell upon. I shall touch upon it but lightly, inasmuch as the entire body of evidence survives in its voluminous offensiveness, and leaves no room for the most charitable scepticism to raise questions or suggest uncertainties.[1]

During the King's absence a gentleman named Lascelles[2] came to the Archbishop and told him that his sister had been in the household of the Duchess of Norfolk, where the Queen had been brought up; that a short time previously he had advised her, on the plea of early acquaintance, to seek for a situation as maid of honour at the palace, and that she had replied that she would not take service under a mistress who, before her marriage, had disgraced herself. She was sorry to speak in such terms of the King's wife, but she mentioned the names of two gentlemen, one of them her cousin, Francis Derham, the other a person called Mannock, on the establishment of the Duchess, with whom her intimacy had been of the most unambiguous description.[3] The Archbishop, perplexed and frightened, consulted the chancellor and Lord Hertford, the only members of the council remaining in London. They agreed that Lascelles's story must be communicated to the King before any other step should be taken; and

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[1] The evidence forms a volume among the *Domestic MSS.* in the State Paper Office.

[2] Perhaps the same person who had regretted Cromwell's loss so deeply: see p. 446.

[3] *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. vii. p. 353.

Cranmer, unable to summon nerve to speak on so frightful a subject, waited till the close of the progress, and wrote to Henry at Hampton Court.

The letter was received at first with utter incredulity. The King had seen nothing in his wife's character to lend credibility to so odious a charge. He laid the account which the Archbishop had sent, before such of his ministers as were in attendance; but he declared emphatically his conviction that the Queen was the object of a calumny. The story should be investigated, but with scrupulous secrecy, to protect her character from scandal. Lord Southampton was sent to London to see and examine the Archbishop's informant.

Finding Lascelles adhere to his story, the Earl cautioned him to be silent; and went down into Sussex, under pretence of joining a hunting party, in order to question the sister; while Mannock and Derham were in the mean time arrested, on the charge of having been concerned in an act of piracy in the Irish seas, and were privately examined by Sir Thomas Wriothesley. Wriothesley, of all the ministers next to Gardiner and the Duke of Norfolk, was most interested in finding the Queen to be innocent; he had attached himself decidedly to the Anglican interest, and had taken a prominent part in promoting the divorce of Anne of Cleves. But the case admitted of no self-deception; the inquiry resulted on both sides in the confirmation of the worst which Lascelles had stated. The two gentlemen confessed; and Southampton returned with the miserable burden of his discoveries to the Court. The King was

overwhelmed; some dreadful spirit pursued his married life, tainting it with infamy. The council were assembled, and he attempted to address them. But it was long before he could speak; and his words, when they came at last, were choked with tears.[1] After a brief and miserable consultation, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Sussex, the Lord Chancellor, and Cranmer were deputed to wait upon the Queen, and hear what she could say in her defence. The wretched lady at first attempted a denial; but from the questions which were put to her she discovered rapidly that too much was known; and after a fit of hysterics, and encouraged by promises of forgiveness, which Cranmer brought to her from the King on condition of a full confession, she acknowledged as much of her guilt as she saw that it was useless to disclaim. Foul as her behaviour had been before her marriage, Henry had as yet no reason to suppose that she had repeated her offences since she had been his Queen. Though she had disgraced herself as a woman, and had cruelly injured him as her husband, she had, as far as he knew, committed no crime against the State, and he allowed the Archbishop to quiet her alarms by a hope that her worst punishment would be the exposure of her shame.

[1] The Privy Council to Sir William Paget: *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. vii. p. 352. My authorities for the general story are the *Privy Council Records*, with the Appendix to the seventh volume, the printed letters upon the subject in the first volume of the *State Papers*, the volume of Depositions in MS. in the State Paper Office, the *Journals of the House of Lords*, the Act of Attainder of Catherine Howard in the *Statute Book*, and the Indictments against her paramours in the *Baga de Secretis*.

But it usually happens in such cases that the first discovery is but the end of a clue which ravels out to unexpected issues. Seven or eight of the Queen's ladies were examined, and it was found that Francis Derham had been lately taken back into her service, and had been employed in a confidential office about her person; while a third Court gallant, Thomas Culpeper, who had accompanied the progress, had been admitted to interviews at midnight in the Queen's private apartments. Her establishment had been separate from the King's; at each house at which they had stayed, either she herself, or her chosen friend Lady Rochford, studied the positions of the staircases and postern doors; and the quarters assigned to her at Lincoln and Pomfret having offered especial conveniences, Culpeper had been introduced to the Queen's room, Lady Rochford keeping guard to prevent a surprise, and had remained with her in more than dubious privacy from eleven o'clock at night till three in the morning.

No reasonable doubt could be entertained that the King had a second time suffered the worst injury which a wife could inflict upon him; that a second adultery, a second act of high treason, must be exposed and punished.

The hand involuntarily pauses as it writes the words. In nine years two queens of England had been divorced: two had been unfaithful. A single misadventure of such a kind might have been explained by accident or by moral infirmity. For such a combination of disasters some common cause must have existed, which may be

or ought to be discoverable. The coarse hypothesis which has been generally offered of brutality and profligacy on the part of the King, if it could be maintained, would be but an imperfect interpretation; but, in fact, when we examine such details as remain to us of Henry's relations with women, we discover but few traces of the second of the supposed causes, and none whatever of the first. A single intrigue in his early years, with unsubstantiated rumours of another, only heard of when there was an interest in spreading them, forms the whole case against him in the way of moral irregularity. For the three years that he was unmarried after the death of his third wife, we hear of no mistresses and no intrigues. For six months he shared the bed of Anne of Cleves, and she remained a maiden; nor had he transferred his affections to any rival lady. The anxiety of his subjects, so far from being excited by his disposition to licentiousness, was rather lest his marriages should be uniformly unfruitful. The vigour of his youth was gone. His system was infirm and languid; and whenever his wedded condition was alluded to by himself, by the privy council, or by Parliament, it was spoken of rather as a matter politically of importance to the realm than of interest individually to the King himself. Again, his manner to his wives seems to have been no less kind than that of ordinary men. A few stern words to Anne Boleyn form the only approach to personal harshness recorded against him; and his behaviour, when he first heard of the misconduct of Catherine Howard, was manly, honourable, and generous.

Extraordinary circumstances, and the necessity of arriving at a just understanding of a remarkable man, must furnish my excuse for saying a few words upon a subject which I would gladly have avoided, and for calling in question one of the largest historical misconceptions which I believe has ever been formed. It is not easy to draw out in detail the evidence on which we form our opinion of character. We judge living men, not from single facts, but from a thousand trifles; and sound estimates of historical persons are pieced together from a general study of their actions, their writings, the description of friends and enemies, from those occasional allusions which we find scattered over contemporary correspondence, from materials which, in the instance of Henry VIII., consist of many thousand documents. Out of so large a mass tolerable evidence would be forthcoming of vicious tendencies, if vicious tendencies had existed. We rise from the laborious perusal with the conviction, rather, that the King's disposition was naturally cold. The indolence and gaiety of early years gave way, when the complications of his life commenced, to the sternness of a statesman engaged in incessant and arduous labours. He had no leisure, perhaps he had little inclination, to attend to the trifles out of which the cords of happy marriages are woven. A Queen was part of the State furniture, existing to be the mother of his children; and children he rather desired officially, than from any wish for them in themselves. Except in the single instance of Anne Boleyn, whom he evidently loved, he entered marriage for the

sake of the male heirs which he so passionately desired; while, again, he combined with much refinement and cultivation an absence of reserve on certain subjects, which is startling even in the midst of the plain speech of the sixteenth century. It was not that he was loose or careless in act or word; but there was a business-like habit of proceeding about him which penetrated through all his words and actions, and may have made him as a husband one of the most intolerable that ever vexed and fretted the soul of woman.

A small share of the misdemeanour of Catherine Howard, however, can be laid to the charge of the King. Every day brought to light some fresh scandal. It soon appeared that the old Duchess of Norfolk, Lord William Howard, the Countess of Bridgewater, and many other members of the family, had been acquainted with her misconduct as a girl, and had nevertheless permitted the marriage to go forward, and had even furthered and encouraged it.

The misfortune was trebled in weight; and it was trebly necessary to act in the matter with entire openness, owing to so many questionable antecedents. No disgrace, however shameful, could be concealed. Circulars, detailed and explicit, were sent to the foreign ambassadors, and to the English ministers in Paris, Brussels, and Spain. The writs went out for a Parliament, to meet in January, and in the mean time, on the 12th of November, 'His Majesty's councillors of all sorts, spiritual and temporal,' were assembled, 'with the judges and learned men of the council,' when 'the

lord chancellor declared unto them the abominable demeanour of the Queen, that the world might know that which had been hitherto done to have a just ground and foundation.'[1]

The offending lady herself was removed to Sion House, where she was confined to three rooms, and, with Lady Rochford, waited for the judgment of Parliament upon her.[2] Derham and Culpeper were left to the ordinary course of justice. On the 1st of December they were tried in the Guildhall before a special com-

[1] Friends of the Queen had attempted to discover that she had been 'precontracted with Derham,' in which case she, like Anne Boleyn, would never have been lawfully married to the King, and might thus escape conviction for high treason. The King would not hear of the excuse, or allow it to be mentioned. Cranmer was directed to assemble the ladies and gentlemen of the royal household and tell them what had happened, 'foreseeing always,' the council wrote to him, 'that you make not mention of any precontract; but, omitting that, to set forth such matters as might engrieve and confound the misdemeanour, and, as truth doth indeed truly bear, declare and set forth the King's Majesty's goodness, most unworthy to be troubled with any such mischance.'—The Council to Cranmer: *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 693.

[2] Chappuys, the Imperialist ambassador, who might have been expected to be favourable to the Queen, betrays no interest in her fate. Nor does he affect to believe in the innocence of a person who fully admitted her own guilt. 'The Queen,' he wrote, on the 29th of January, to Charles, 'is still at Syon, very cheerful and more plump and pretty than ever: she is as careful about her dress, she is as imperious and wilful, as at the time when she was with the King; notwithstanding that she expects to be put to death, that she confesses that she has well deserved it, and asks for no favour except that the execution shall be secret and not under the eyes of the world. Perhaps, if the King does not mean to marry again, he may show mercy to her; or if he find that he can divorce her on the plea of adultery, he may take another thus. The question, I am told, has been already debated among the learned theologians, although, so far, there is no appearance that the King thinks of any further marriage or of any other woman.'

mission. They pleaded guilty; and twelve days after they were hanged at Tyburn. In the world the King had many enemies, who of course made use of the opportunity of scandal; but Francis, although on doubtful terms with England, sent a warm and generous message. 'He was sorry,' he said, 'to hear of the displeasure and trouble which had been caused by the lewd and naughty demeanour of the Queen;' 'albeit, knowing his good brother to be a prince of prudence, virtue, and honour, he did require him to receive and shift off the said displeasures wisely, temperately, and like himself, not reputing his honour to rest in the lightness of a woman, but to thank God of all, comforting himself in God's goodness.'[1]

1542. January. In England the feeling seems to have been unmixed compassion for Henry; and the meeting of Parliament made an opportunity for the country

[1] *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 718. Sir William Paget's account of a conversation with the Queen of Navarre shows how necessary it was for Henry to have no concealment. 'After she had used a long discourse,' he said, 'of sundry matters, she entered on purpose of the Queen. And when I had made a declaration to her of the whole matter, so far forth as I knew of it, she said, with solemn addition in many words, how well she was affected towards your Majesty; that she was very sorry, as she knew the King her brother was, that your Majesty should be thus disquieted, and was nevertheless glad that she knew the truth of the matter at length, to the intent she might declare the same when time and place required; 'for,' said she, 'there hath been (and named the constable), and yet be (and named the cardinal, and the chancellor, who gaped to be a cardinal) in this Court that be the gladdest of men in the world to deprave the King's Majesty's your master's doings; and to tell you,' quoth she, 'franchement, the King my brother hath been too much abused with them, and so,' quoth she, 'I have told him not long ago.'"—Paget to Henry VIII.: ibid. vol. viii. p. 636.

to offer him some compensation, by acknowledging in an emphatic manner their sense of his services, and showing him the affection with which his subjects regarded him. The scene at the opening of the session was a very remarkable one, almost equally remarkable, whether we are to regard the emotion which was displayed as an exhibition of genuine feeling, or as affected sycophancy. When the Commons had answered to their names, and the Lords were in their places, the King passed up the middle of the great chamber, and took his seat upon the throne. The chancellor then rose and spoke for an hour; and the clerks of the House, having been unable to take down his words, an epitome was supplied for insertion in the Journals.

'King David,' Lord Audeley said, 'when called to reign over Israel, sought not of the Lord either honour or riches; but he prayed, as it is written in the Psalms, that God would grant him understanding, that he might keep his law. He asked for wisdom as the thing most necessary both for princes and people. In like manner, from the time when he came first to the throne of that country, his most sacred Majesty had sought of the Lord the same two things, understanding and wisdom.' As the King's name was mentioned, every peer rose from his seat and bowed.[1] The chancellor went

[1] In progressu orationis, quoties mentio obvenerat regiæ Majestatis, id quod sæpe accidit, illico ad unum omnes humi tantum non prosternebant, quasi agnoscentes vera esse omnia quæ diceret orator in laudem principis simulque Deo optimo Maximo gratias agentes qui tali rege hoc regnum tam diu sustinuerit; communibus denique votis obsecrantes ut pro immensâ ejus misericordiâ erga illam Rempublicam in lon-

on with a sketch of the reign to illustrate in how large measure these gifts had been bestowed upon him. He described the wars with which it had opened; the thirty years of quiet which had been enjoyed by England while Europe elsewhere was wasted with war; the victory over the Goliath at Rome, whom Henry, like David, had smitten down with a sling and a stone—with the sling of his councillors and the stone of the Word of God. He touched upon the northern insurrection, which had threatened to become so dangerous, but had been composed almost without bloodshed. He pointed to the reduction of Ireland from a state of anarchy, and to the defences of the country, which was now secured from invasion. Much had been done, he said, but much remained to be done; and on them and on their assistance the King relied. New opinions in matters of religion were continually rising: it would be their duty to determine how much that was new should be received and adopted; how much that was effete should be laid aside. Justice, again, was ill administered. There were good laws; but good laws, if ill observed, were worse than none; and the measure was not even between the rich and the poor. Men in authority abused their powers; farms continued to be engrossed; the price of provisions was raised by artificial monopolies; the weak were oppressed, and were driven from their holdings: these were points which required attention and speedy remedy. Yet, when all was said—when England as it

gævam ætatem talem principem producere dignaretur.'—*Lords Journals*, vol. i. p. 164.

stood was compared with England as it had been—no king had yet reigned over her to whom she owed so large a debt of gratitude as to his present Majesty.[1]

The Lords and Commons, as the chancellor concluded, again rose and bowed to the ground, 'as if acknowledging the truth of his words, and giving thanks to Almighty God, who had allowed so great a prince so long to remain among them.' The King descended from the throne, and left the house. Although no allusion had been made to the Queen, her behaviour was the first subject which came under discussion. In the first days of the session a bill of attainder was brought in against Catherine Howard and Lady Rochford, and read a first time on the 21st of January. On the 28th, when, in the common course of business, it would have been proceeded with, the chancellor stopped its progress, and said that, in consideration of the rank of the Queen, and that no pretences might be hereafter raised of precipitate or unfair dealing, precautions greater than usual must be observed. The facts had been proved; but it was possible that something might be urged in extenuation of the crime, or at least in mitigation of punishment. The laws were just: the King was anxious, if possible, to show mercy. It would be well if the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Southampton should visit her in private to hear if she could say anything to improve her case;

Jan. 21.

Saturday, Jan. 28.

[1] *Lords Journals*, 33 Henry VIII.

or at all events to bring back a statement of some kind, no matter what, provided it was true.[1]

It is clear, from what subsequently passed, that the chancellor was acting under directions from the King; and that the object was, if possible, to prevent the completion of the attainder, and escape another execution. The peers at first acquiesced cordially; but as they had been responsible for the marriage, so especially they resented its consequences; the privy council held a meeting on Sunday: on Monday a resolution was passed in the Upper House to wait upon the King with a request, or rather with a demand,[2] that the prosecution should be left to themselves and the Commons. They would implore his Highness to consider, with his general good sense, the liability of all men to misfortune, to remember the importance of his life to the realm, and not permit his distress to prey upon his health. Finally, should the bill be passed after hearing the Queen's defence, they would desire him to spare himself the trouble of appearing in person to listen to the recitation of it; and to convey his assent by letters patent under the great seal.[3]

Monday, Jan. 30.

[1] *Lords Journals*, vol. i. p. 171. After the Act was passed, the King again made an effort in the Queen's favour. 'The King, after the vote of Parliament in her condemnation, wishing to proceed more humanely and more according to forms of law, sent some of his council with a deputation from the Houses to propose to her to come to the Parliament chamber to defend herself. She refused, however; she submitted herself to the King's mercy and good pleasure, and confessed that she had deserved to die.'—*Chappuys*, Feb. 25, 1542.

[2] 'Quædam alia minime contemnenda eorum animis occurrerunt regiæ itidem majestati exponenda, aut potius a suâ Majestate omnino flagitanda.'—*Lords Journals*, ibid.

[3] 'Ne nova tam flebilis historiæ

The Commons, meanwhile, had petitioned for permission to discuss freely the history of the adultery, and from time to time to have access to his Majesty's person, to submit their opinions to him.[1] The King had acquiesced; but he had requested, in turn, that he might not be molested by visits from the whole House; they must content themselves with communicating with him through a deputation. When the Peers carried their address to the palace, therefore, the Commons, who were acting in concert, sent with them a number of members to endorse the supplication. The two parties were admitted separately. The King thanked them for their anxiety, and consented to what they proposed; but before they returned, he called them together into his presence, and took the opportunity of suggesting that they were assembled neither for their own purposes nor for his, but for the interests of the commonwealth. They must remember that they were the representatives of the people: he desired that they would be more regular in their attendance, more diligent in discussing the measures which might be laid before them; and that in matters of difficulty the two Houses should hold more frequent conferences.[2] He was anx-

February.

et nefandi sceleris commemoratio si coram fiat jam bene sopitum dolorem renovet in animo Principis.'—*Lords Journals*, vol. i. p. 171.

[1] Ibid. p. 167.

[2] 'Quos omnes simul præsentes sua Majestas gravissime admonuit, ut maxima sit cura de bonis condendis legibus, de justâ legum observatione, ut nemo arbitretur suam rem agi solam in parliamento aut sui commodi gratiâ se illuc vocari; sed reipublicæ negotium agi et unumquemque patronum præstare debere absentis multitudinis. Quapropter oportet magnates et communes unanimes esse, sæpius convenire et colloqui de præsentibus

ious, perhaps, to forget his misfortune in the business of the State. The Houses determined that the issue of it should not long remain in uncertainty. They could now dispose of the Queen in their own way. The attainder bill was read a second and third time on the 7th and 8th of February. On the 11th the Commons were invited to the Upper House. The Duke of Suffolk, in the name of the committee who had waited upon Catherine, declared that she had confessed the crime which she had committed against God, the King, and the English nation; that she implored God's forgiveness, and only entreated that her faults might not be imputed to her family. Lord Southampton added a few words, which are not preserved; the bill was declared to be passed, and the King's signature was produced and attached.[1]

Saturday, Feb. 11.

Four days later the following letter was written by a gentleman in London to his brother at Calais.

'According to my writing on Sunday last, I saw the Queen and Lady Rochford suffer within the Tower the day following; whose souls I doubt not be with God, for they made the most godly and Christian end that ever was heard tell of, I think,

Monday, Feb. 13.

negotiis, de propositis statutis seu Billis ut vocant; alioqui futurum id quod antehac usu venisse sæpenumero sua Majestas audivit et ægre tulit, ut alii aliorum Billas rejicerent tanquam inutiles omnino et incommodas reipublicæ ob hoc solum, quia rationes et fundamenta hujusmodi Billarum neque per se nôrunt, neque hi qui rejiciunt dignentur sermones commiscere cum alterâ parte, ut omnes omnium rationes et sensus perspiciant, quo fieri posset ut multæ bonæ billæ legis vigorem obtinerent, quæ nunc frustra proponuntur.'—*Lords Journals*, vol. i. p. 172.

[1] *Lords Journals*, p. 176.

since the world's creation, uttering their lively faith in the blood of Christ only; and with goodly words and steadfast countenances they desired all Christian people to take regard unto their worthy and just punishment with death for their offences against God heinously from their youth upwards in breaking all his commandments, and against the King's royal Majesty very dangerously; wherefore, they being justly condemned, as they said, by the laws of the realm and Parliament to die, required the people to take example at them for amendment of their ungodly lives, and gladly to obey the King in all things, for whose preservation they did heartily pray, and willed all people so to do, commending their souls to God, and earnestly calling for mercy upon Him, whom I beseech to give us grace, with such faith, hope, and charity, at our departing out of this miserable world, to come to the fruition of his Godhead in joy everlasting.'[1]

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[1] Otwell Johnson to his brother John Johnson: ELLIS, first series, vol. ii. p. 128.

Chappuys adds some particulars. 'The Queen, after some resistance, and with some difficulty, was taken down the river to the Tower, preceded by a barge containing the Lord Privy Seal, several members of the council, and a number of servants. The Queen followed in a small close barge, with three or four men and as many women. The Duke of Suffolk came behind as a rear-guard, in a large boat crowded with his retinue.

'When they reached the Tower stairs, the lords disembarked first, and afterwards the Queen, in a dress of black velvet. The same forms of respect were shown to her as when she was on the throne.

'Two days after, being Sunday the 12th, in the evening, she was instructed to disburden her conscience; she was to die the following day. She desired that the block on which she was to be beheaded might be brought her, that she might learn how she was to place herself. This was done, and she made the experiment.

'At seven o'clock the next morning, all the King's council, except

Thus was the symmetry complete. The King, professing to be acting upon principle alone, had divorced a Catholic princess to make way for a friend of the Reformation. The sense of duty had been real, but it had been tainted with private inclination; and he had been rewarded with dishonour. The Protestants had supported him, because they saw a triumph for their party in a breach for any cause with the Papacy; and they were disgraced in the shameful catastrophe with which the marriage which they had encouraged had closed. The tide had turned. It was now a Protestant princess who had been divorced; and her place had been taken by a representative of a party who, if not Romanists, yet rivalled them in hatred of the Reformers. Again there had been something of justice in the King's motives. Again there had been something which was unsound. Again a great religious faction had endeavoured to serve their cause by paltering with equity; and again the same ignominy overtook both prince and party. Of the work which was done in both movements the good remained, the corrupt perished. The high purposes of Providence were not permitted to be disfigured with

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the Duke of Suffolk, who was indisposed, and the Duke of Norfolk, presented themselves at the Tower, with a number of lords and gentlemen, amongst the rest being the Earl of Surrey, the Duke of Norfolk's son and the Queen's cousin. The Queen herself was shortly after beheaded, in the same place where Anne Boleyn suffered. A cloth was thrown over the body, which was taken away by some ladies, and Lady Rochford was brought out, who seemed to be in a kind of frenzy till she died. Neither one nor the other said much except to confess their misdeeds, and to pray for the King's welfare.'

impunity by the intermixture of worldly intrigues; and a signal and tremendous retaliation, perhaps greater than the measure of the offence, followed on the rashness which dared to serve Heaven with impure instruments.

But the retribution was now over. Once more the King ventured into marriage. Catherine, widow of Lord Latimer, his last choice, was selected, not in the interest of politics or religion, but by his own personal judgment; and this time he found the peace which he desired. The number of his children, indeed, had been completed; neither son nor daughter was to increase further the family of the Tudors. The last of the race had been already long in the world. But he had chosen at least an honourable and prudent companion; and this forlorn chapter of Henry's life may be considered as closed. We turn gladly its last page, and pass to the outward business of life, where nature had better qualified him to play his part successfully.

In spite of his exhortation to the Houses, and the hints in the speech at the opening, the remainder of the session was not distinguished by any very serious measures. An Act against witchcraft is noticeable, as illustrating the intellectual condition of the time.

By the 8th of the 33rd of Henry VIII. it was enacted that 'whereas divers and sundry persons unlawfully have devised and practised invocations and conjurations of spirits, pretending by such means to understand and get knowledge for their own lucre, in what places treasures of gold or silver should

March.

or might be found or had in the earth or other secret places; and also have used and occupied witchcrafts, enchantments, and sorceries, to the destruction of their neighbours' persons and goods; and for the execution of the said false devices and practices have made or caused to be made divers images and pictures of men, women, children, angels or devils, beasts or fowls; and also have made crowns, sceptres, swords, rings, glasses, and other things, and giving faith and credit to such fantastical practices, have digged up and pulled down an infinite number of crosses within this realm, and taken upon them to declare and tell where things lost or stolen should be become; which things cannot be used and exercised, but to the great offence of God's law, hurt and damage of the King's subjects, and loss of the souls of such offenders, to the great dishonour of God, infamy and disquietness of the realm: for reformation thereof, if any person or persons use, practise, or exercise any invocation or conjuration of spirits, witchcrafts or sorceries, to the intent to get or find money or treasure, or to waste, consume, or destroy any person in his body, members, or goods, or to provoke any person to unlawful love; or by occasion or colour of such things, or any of them, *or for despite of Christ*, or for lucre or money, dig up or pull down any cross or crosses, or by such invocations take upon them to declare where goods stolen should become, every such offence shall be considered felony; and every such offender shall suffer death as a felon, without benefit of clergy.'[1]

[1] 33 Henry VIII. cap. 8. Much of the monastic plate was buried or

Another statute throws additional light on the difficulty of dealing with the sanctuaries. When the num-

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concealed in the ruins of the religious houses at the time of the dissolution, and as the conjurors and treasure-finders were often monks, we may believe that their arts were not always ineffectual. But the ensuing singular confession shows into what high quarters the superstitions detailed in the statute had spread. It is taken from a MS. in the *Rolls House, Miscellaneous*, second series, p. 64, and was addressed by a Benedictine monk to Wolsey.

'And where your most noble Grace here of late was informed of certain things by the Duke's Grace of Norfolk as touching your Grace and him, I faithfully ascertain your noble Grace, as I shall answer to God and avoid your lordship's high displeasure, that the truth thereof is as hereafter followeth: that is to say, one Wright, servant to the said Duke, at a certain season shewed me that the Duke's Grace his master was sore vexed with a spirit by the enchantment of your Grace. To the which I made answer that his communication might be left, for it was too high a matter to meddle withal. Whereupon the said Wright went unto the Duke's Grace, and shewed him things to me unknown; upon the which information of Wright the Duke's Grace caused me to be sent for; and at such time as I was before his Grace I required his Grace to shew me what his pleasure was; and he said, I knew well myself; and I answered, 'Nay.' Then he demanded Wright, whether he had shewed me anything or nay; and he answered, he durst not, for because his Grace gave so strait commandment to the contrary. And so then was I directed to the said Wright unto the next day, that he should shew me the intention of the Duke's Grace; and so when we were departed from the Duke's Grace, the said Wright said unto me in this wise, 'Sir William, ye be well advised that I shewed you a while ago that I heard say my Lord's Grace here was sore vexed with the spirit by the enchantment of the Lord Legate's Grace; and so it is that I have enformed the Duke's Grace of the same, and also have borne him in hand that you, by reason of the cunning that you have, had and would do him much good therein. Wherefore my council and arede shall be this: the Duke's Grace favoureth you well, and now the time is come that you may exalt yourself, and greatly further your brother and me also. Wherefore you must needs feign something as you can do right well, that you have done his Grace good in the avoiding of the same spirit.' And then came my brother unto me, at the request of the said Wright, which in like wise instanced me to the same. And then I made answer to them that I never knew no such thing, nor could not tell what answer I should make;

ber was restricted, Manchester, which even then was celebrated for its woollen cloths and linen fabrics, was one of the favoured places which retained its privilege, and had, in consequence, been converted into a paradise of thieves. Goods were stolen, country houses were broken open, trade was destroyed. The Irish flax growers, who had been in the habit of supplying the raw material upon credit, would furnish it no longer owing to the losses which they had sustained, and the inhabitants, half ruined, implored the legislature to relieve them from their undesirable distinction. The request was granted, but the obstinacy of the superstition

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and then they besought me to feign and say something what I thought best. And so I, sore blinded with covetise, thinking to have promotion and favour of the said Duke, said and feigned unto him at such time as he sent for me again and gave me thanks, that I had forged an image of wax to his similitude, and the same sanctified; but whether it did him any good for his sickness or nay, I could not tell. Whereupon the said Duke desired that I should go about to know whether the Lord Cardinal's Grace had a spirit, and I shewed him that I could not skill thereof. And then he asked whether I ever heard that your Grace had any spirit or nay. And I said, I never knew no such thing, but I heard it spoken that Oberyon would not speak at such time as he was raised by the parson of Lesingham, Sir John Leister, and others, because he was enchanted to the Lord Cardinal's Grace. The which Duke then said that, if I would take pains therein, he would appoint me to a cunning man named Doctor Wilson. And so the said Doctor Wilson was sent for. And when the Duke's Grace and he were together, they came and examined me; and when I had knowledged to them all the premises, then the Duke's Grace commanded me that I should write all things; and so I did. And that done, he commended me to your noble Grace; without that ever I heard of any such thing concerning the Duke's Grace but only of the said Wright; and without that ever I made or can skill of any such causes; Wherefore, considering the great folly which hath rested in me, I humbly beseech your good Grace to be good and gracious lord unto me, and to take me to your mercy.'

made the relief of Manchester possible only at the expense of Chester, to which the sanctuary men were transferred. Even with such an evidence before the world of the working of the system, it was not yet within the power of Parliament to abolish it for ever.[1]

But the most important event which distinguished the concluding weeks of the session was a question of privilege.

George Ferrars, lately elected member for Plymouth, had become a security for a debt owing by a Mr Weldon of Salisbury to a man named White. Weldon failing to produce the money at the time appointed, White brought an action against Ferrars, and, obtaining a judgment, demanded his arrest. The immunities of members of Parliament were insisted on by themselves, but as yet were imperfectly acknowledged by the municipal authorities. The Plymouth burgess was taken by the officers of the city of London, and imprisoned in the Compter. Sir Thomas Moyle, the Speaker, laid the matter before the House of Commons; the House, indignant and unanimous, sent the sergeant-at-arms into the City to require the immediate release of the prisoner. But within the liberties of the city of London it was declared loudly that no extraneous officials had right or jurisdiction. The clerk of the Compter refused to receive the order. High words were exchanged; and words were followed quickly by blows. The officers of the prison attempted to expel the sergeant. The ser-

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1 33 Henry VIII. cap. 15.

geant defended himself with the mace; and in the scuffle the 'crown' was struck away. Hearing of the disturbance, the sheriffs hastened to the scene, with the City constables; but their sympathies were naturally municipal. The guard of the house was driven off the field, and the sergeant-at-arms returned to Westminster to communicate his failure.

The Commons were in full session, waiting for the appearance of their officers. On learning what had passed, they repaired in a body to the House of Lords, to lay their complaint before the judges. It was a case of contempt, and 'a very great one.' The judges decided, without hesitation, that the arrest was illegal; and although the chancellor proposed to soften the difficulty by granting a writ for the person of Ferrars, the Commons would not hear of a compromise. They would have him out by their own authority—'by show of the mace;' and the law, it was admitted, would bear them out; they might inflict, at their discretion, whatever punishment they pleased on the municipals of the City. The sergeant-at-arms was sent again to the prison; and this time the sheriffs, who were alarmed at what they had done, gave way. Ferrars was set at liberty; and the sheriffs themselves were ordered to appear at eight o'clock the following morning at the bar of the House of Commons, bringing with them the clerk of the Compter and his servants, with the creditor at whose suit the arrest had been made.

March 28. The City was afraid to resist. The offending parties appeared at the hour prescribed,

and the Speaker charged them with a misdemeanour, and required them to answer for their behaviour on the spot, without the assistance of counsel. The recorder, Sir Roger Cholmondley, interposed, but was ordered to be silent; and finally, the sheriffs and the creditor White were sent to the Tower, the clerk of the prison to a place expressively called 'Little Ease,' and five of the constables who had taken part in the attack upon the sergeant, to Newgate. For three days they were left to consider themselves, and were then, 'at the humble entreaty of the Mayor,' set at liberty. March 30.

Meantime, the question was raised in the House of the original debt. The Commons were contented with asserting their privileges, and did not desire to press them into injustice; and the person of Ferrars having been once taken in execution, and released by Parliament, he was not any more legally answerable, and the creditor was without remedy, either against him or against his principal, Weldon. This intricate point was discussed for nine or ten days; at the end of which it was decided that the claim should be revived by Act of Parliament against the original debtor. A further proposal, that Ferrars, after the dissolution, might again be held to his security, was negatived by a majority of fourteen.

So far the Commons had acted on their own authority; and the Long Parliament, in the zenith of its glory, could not have been more absolute or peremptory. The King must have been aware of the transaction, for Ferrars was one of his household.[1] He had not inter-

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. vii. p. 332.

fered, however, and pretended to no jurisdiction in a question which was purely Parliamentary. Now that the field was won, a formal communication was made by the Lower House of their conduct, and the King expressed his emphatic approbation of every step which they had taken. The creditor, he said, had been properly punished for his presumption. It was not necessary, nevertheless, that he should lose his debt; and he commended the equity of the resolution which enabled him to recover it. On the general point of immunity from arrest, and of the position of the House of Commons under the constitution, he added these remarkable words:—

April.

'I understand that you, not only for your own persons, but also for your necessary servants, even to your cooks and housekeepers, enjoy the said privilege; insomuch as my Lord Chancellor here present hath informed us that he, being Speaker of the Parliament, the cook of the Temple was arrested in London, and in execution upon a statute of the staple; and for so much as the said cook during all the Parliament served the Speaker in that office, he was taken out of execution by privilege of Parliament. And further, we be informed by our judges that we at no time stand so highly in our estate royal as in the time of the Parliament, wherein we as head and you as members are conjoined and knit together in one body politic, so as whatsoever offence or injury during that time is offered to the meanest member of the House, is to be judged as done against our person and the whole court of Parliament; which prerogative

of the court is so great, as all acts and processes coming out of any inferior courts must for the time cease, and give place to the highest.' [1]

The despotism of Henry was splendidly veiled when he could applaud so resolved an assertion of the liberties of the House of Commons, and could acknowledge that any portion of his own power was dependent on their presence and their aid.

From domestic incidents, intricate in themselves, and more intricate from the imperfect light in which we see them, the story now turns to a series of events brought complete before the eye in a steady stream of information, where the last years of this perplexed and stormy reign will appear in fairer colours. England at home, and viewed from the inner side, was full of passion, confusion, and uncertainty; the Church anchorage no longer tenable in the change of wind, and the new anchorage in the Bible as yet partially discovered and imperfectly sounded. But she reserved her weakness for her own eyes. The inhabitants of but a part of a small island provoked the envy of the world by their wealth, and the jealousy of the world by their freedom from the scourge of war, which, lacerating all other nations, left them alone unscathed. Torn as they were by dissensions, they appeared an easy and a tempting prey; but when the cloud gathered to overwhelm them, it displayed, on its rising, not a prostrate victim appealing for mercy, but a proud and power- 1541.

[1] The authority throughout for this story is Holinshed, who professes to have taken pains to learn the exact details.

ful people asserting over sea and land their lordly pre-eminence, and, in the bitter words of Pole, 'shaking their drawn swords in the face of all opponents.'

It was not from traditionary policy, or the indulgence of petulant humour, that the Government of Paris was so eager to prevent a union between Henry and James of Scotland. Francis, disappointed once more of Milan, was determined upon war, and weary of the change of partners among the European powers, so often tried, so barren of results, had resolved at last upon introducing a fresh player upon the stage. The King of England would encourage his ambition only on condition of his parting from the Papacy. But fleets might issue from the Dardanelles which would sweep the Spanish galleys from the Mediterranean; and Barbarossa would be contented with the sport of the game and the pleasure of the spoil. Hundreds of thousands of the Moslem would pour themselves into Hungary, desiring nothing but to gratify their hatred of Christianity, and to plant the crescent on the towers of Vienna. To the *fils aîné de l'Eglise* it was nothing that Germany should be wasted by barbarians, if Northern Italy could be secured as a province of France. To the Father of Christendom, irritated by the languid zeal of the Emperor, a Turkish conquest appeared a slighter evil than the success of heresy. Three times Charles had disappointed his darling project upon England. He had allowed the Pilgrims of Grace to recant their oath or die on the scaffold; the Marquis of Exeter had perished in a vain dependence upon him; the Conference

of Paris had passed away and borne no fruit; and now, under his eyes and with his sanction, the Diet of Ratisbon had closed with the virtual triumph of the Protestants. The edicts of persecution were suspended. July. Hopes had been held out in spite of the entreaties of Cardinal Contarini, that if the general council, so often talked of, was delayed longer, the disputes in Germany might be settled by the Germans themselves.[1] Though he still laboured at intervals in the old work of reconciliation, each day he saw his hopes of success grow less; and if compelled to choose between the two, Francis, even encumbered with a dubious alliance, now promised better in the eyes of the passionate Paul than the Emperor.

Yet, again, if Francis took the field, with the Turk for his right arm, and countenanced in so audacious an innovation by the Papacy, the Emperor would be thrown upon England. England, in its present humour, would meet him half-way, and the pension and the frontier quarrels might then lead to a collision. It was necessary to be prepared for so dangerous a possibility, and therefore, at all hazards, the friends of France must continue to be strengthened at Edinburgh, and James must be prevented from falling under his uncle's influence. Beton had succeeded in preventing the York meeting. He crossed in September to the Continent, to consult with the French ministers, and afterwards with the Pope,[2] and the King of Scotland was left during his

[1] SLEIDAN, vol. ii. pp. 140, 141.

[2] *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 609.

absence under the tutelage of Mary of Guise. Once more, in the Cardinal's absence, Kirkaldy made an effort to recover the ascendency, and in the winter the interview was for a last time suggested.[1] 'But the clergy of Scotland,' says Knox, 'promised the King mountains of gold, as Satan their father did to Christ Jesus if He would worship him. Rather they would have gone to hell or he should have met King Henry, for then they thought, Farewell, our kingdom! Farewell, thought the Cardinal, his credit and glory in France.'[2]

August.

The fortunes of Europe were still hanging in uncertainty, and Francis was feeling his way towards an outbreak, when the Marquis de Guasto, the Imperial commander-in-chief in Milan, caught two French emissaries on their road to Constantinople[3] with despatches. There was still peace with France; but the nature of the mission was palpable, and, careless of their privileges as ambassadors, De Guasto put them to death as traitors against the peace of Christendom. A third messenger soon after shared the same fate; and at the same time came the news of the defeat of the army of Ferdinand by the Turks in Hungary. The Emperor, determined to make a great effort to save Europe from the danger which threatened it, had sent his brother to recover Buda, while he himself was preparing an expedition into Africa. The plague had

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[1] *State Papers*, vol. v. pp. 195–202.

[2] KNOX's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, p. 26.

[3] *State Papers*, vol. viii. pp. 595–606.

broken out among the German troops before the fortress could be taken. They attempted to retreat across the Danube into Pesth; but the operation was a critical one, and before it was half accomplished they were attacked by an overwhelming force. Those who were left beyond the river were cut in pieces on the spot; the remainder fled in panic, leaving their artillery, their military chests and stores. The Turks passed the Danube in pursuit, seized Pesth, and hung in the rear of the retreating army till the remnant were sheltered in Vienna. Twenty thousand men were reported to have been killed, and the whole of Hungary was lost.[1]

The defeat was a victory for France. It was followed by another yet more considerable. Algiers, since the capture of Tunis, had become the stronghold of the Mediterranean pirates, and the head-quarters of the Sultan's corsair-admiral, Barbarossa. If Algiers could be destroyed it would compensate in some measure for the disasters in Hungary, and might at least prevent the dominancy of a Turko-gallic fleet in the Mediterranean in the ensuing summer. The season was late. It was not till October that Charles was able to sail; but he gathered

September.

October.

[1] 'There remained of twenty-five thousand footmen of Ferdinand's but five thousand, all his artillery lost; quick there was taken six hundred, most part of them gentlemen, which being brought afore the Turk, he caused them to be headed, whereat all the noblemen of his host took great displeasure, saying that he should have ransomed them as the custom of the war is to do. The Turk then being angry with them, said these words, 'See how these dogs be now come witty.' '—Howard to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 614; and see Heideck to Henry VIII.: ibid. p. 625.

confidence from his success six years before in a similar expedition; and if the attempt was imprudent, it was also necessary. The force which had been collected seemed adequate to overbear all anticipated opposition. A hundred and fifty armed vessels, with as many transports, carried an army of twenty thousand infantry and two thousand horse.

A landing was effected, not without difficulty, at some distance from the town. The troops were on shore, the stores were still in the transports, when, on the second night after their arrival, a hurricane arose so desperately violent, that before morning the wrecks of half the fleet were strewed along the beach, and the Arabs were murdering the crews. The remainder had cut their cables and escaped destruction, but were driven into an anchorage three days' march from the unprovided army. Charles had no alternative but to follow them. In a hostile country, without food, and surrounded by swarms of light-armed Moorish cavalry, who made foraging parties impossible, and ran their lances through every weary loiterer who dropped behind the ranks, he secured the retreat of a fraction of his followers, and in December he was again in Spain, crippled by the expense of the fruitless effort, and weakened even more by the moral effects of his misfortune.

Francis, on the receipt of the happy intelligence, was more than ever satisfied that he might venture on the plunge, dare the world's opinion, and make allies of so fortunate auxiliaries. In spite of De Guasto, he

had established safe communication with Constantinople. In the beginning of January Sir William Paget wrote from Paris that he was raising money and hastening his preparations for war;[1] and on the 24th of the same month there came intelligence of an event in the Adriatic significant of an immediate explosion. 'It may like your Majesty,' Paget again informed the King, 'to understand that in Friola, a province of Italy, not far from Venice, there is a haven town called Maran,[2] which standeth in the heart of the province, and is an entry into all places in Italy, and a way also into Almayn. The town is impregnable but by treason. In the haven may float three or four hundred galleys. Which town was some time the Venetians', and since by practice hath come to the Emperor's hands, who, after he had brought it to such a force and strength, gave it to his brother King Ferdinand. The French King hath a servant in Friola, a gentleman of the best house in that country, called Signor Germanico, who, with another captain called Turchetto, the 12th day of this present month, having intelligence with some of the same town, came into the haven with certain vessels charged with wood and coals above, and having under-

1542, January 4.

Jan. 24.

[1] 'They look immediately here for war, and (as I am informed of a credible person) it shall be begun suddenly and in sundry places, in Flanders, in Navarre, and Italy, which, the French King saith, he counteth his own, and to have the Bishop of Rome at least neuter. He amasseth great sums of money. All armourers and furbishers work day and night. The appearance of war is great.'—Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 648.

[2] Marano, near Trieste.

neath three hundred men bestowed. The next day after, at twelve o'clock at noon, by means of them in the town, they entered the castle, and killed the captain and eighteen soldiers which were within with him, and by-and-by the town yielded unto them; wherein they have abatred King Ferdinand's arms, and set up the French King's arms, displaying banners with white crosses, and have sent hither to the French King one called Spagnoletto, with letters signifying unto him that the town is at his commandment. This Spagnoletto arrived here upon Saturday at night; and upon Sunday, after dinner, the French King sent for the Emperor's ambassador, for the ambassador of Venice, and the Bishop of Rome's ambassador, and, calling them together, said he had received letters from Turchetto signifying this enterprise, and that they within the town were contented to surrender the town unto him; so he would certify them of his contentation therein before a certain day, and that otherwise they would surrender the town to the Grand Signor. And then the French King excused himself, protesting it was done without his knowledge, and that he was sorry therefor. Nevertheless, the case standing thus, he desired their advice, whether he should take it or no, or else suffer them to give it to the Grand Signor. The ambassadors of Venice and Rome said it were better that his Highness took it. The Emperor's ambassador answered that he should do well first to hang him that brought the letter, and then to do what he could to hang them that took the town like thieves, and to cause the

same to be restored to their right owners. *Tout beau, M. l'Ambassadeur!* quotes the King. I may not kill ambassadors as your master doth; and as for hanging them that be in the town, I should reguerdon them well for the service they intended to do me.'[1]

Francis solved the difficulty by sending five hundred men into Marano for a garrison. His hostile intentions were thus revealed beyond a doubt, and to appearance every advantage was on his side. The Emperor, in his present condition, would be little able to send help into Lombardy, if attacked simultaneously in Spain and the Low Countries. The Venetians were on the side of the French. On the 11th of March an Italian renegade, the Capitan Pollino, arrived in Paris from Constantinople, with presents, and with a message from Solyman, that when summer came he would enter Germany with two hundred thousand men, and a fleet of four hundred sail should pass the Dardanelles.[2] The messenger, on his way, passed through Venice, and the Imperial ambassador required the council, in his master's name, to arrest him. But at the moment, the pleasure of Francis was of more importance to the Signory than the fear of the Emperor. Pollino walked insolently into the senate house. He called the ambassador a traitor in the face of the assembly, and passed on upon his way. Charles, so lately the dictator of Europe, would find himself attacked by a coalition which threatened to be irresistible, and unless

March.

[1] Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 655.
[2] Ibid. p. 673.

Henry would assist him, he in his turn would be left without an ally.

And to Henry he looked, without doubt, most anxiously, as Henry looked to him. But the King of England was publicly excommunicated, banned, and cut off from the Church; and Charles was, or wished to be, a pious Catholic. He might relinquish active enmity, he might cast on Cromwell the blame of the past, but he hesitated at a positive alliance which, possibly, might compromise his orthodoxy, and necessarily would bring the Papal censures into contempt. He felt his way, as he had done before, to win back the erring sheep to the fold. He undertook to bring about a reconciliation without compromising Henry's consistency. He even promised that the Pope himself should sue for it.[1] This, however, being decisively and for ever impossible, the Emperor for the moment hung back;[2] and Henry, to whom the alliance of either of the rival powers was almost equally welcome, almost equally indifferent, whose only object was to take advantage of the shifting

[1] So at least it was believed in Paris. 'We know,' quoth the Admiral de Bryon, 'how the Emperor offereth your master to accord him with the Pope without breach of his honour, and that it shall be at the Pope's suit.' — Paget to Henry VIII.: BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 508.

[2] 'Your master he will not join,' the admiral said to Paget, 'unless he will return again to the Pope, for so his nuntio told the chancellor (Poyet), and the chancellor told the Queen of Navarre, who fell out with him upon occasion of that conference. She told him he was ill enough before, but now, since he had gotten the mark of the beast, for so she called it because he was lately made a priest, he was worse and worse.'—Paget to Henry VIII.: ibid.

gales to navigate his own vessel securely, listened, so long as they were offered, to counter-overtures from France. The French Court was divided into two factions, one of them the Ultramontanists, the party of the Constable Montmorency, the Chancellor, and the Guises, hating England and the Reformation, inclined to the Pope, and opposed to the war with the Empire; the other the party of the Admiral de Bryon, the Queen of Navarre, and the Duchess d'Estampes, who were more than inclining to Protestantism, and would have had Francis follow the example of Henry, and declare the independence of the Gallican Church. Francis alternately gave his ear to one set of advisers or the other, as suited his convenience, reserving his own opinions and playing upon theirs. He used the Catholics to keep England separate from Scotland, to protect Romanist refugees, to shuffle over his debts, to 'engrieve' the petty differences at Calais; but the Catholics discouraged his designs on Milan, and therefore it was necessary to goad them forward with dread of worse evil than a breach with Charles; and their liberal opponents were permitted to suggest to Henry a marriage between the Lady Mary and the Duke of Orleans.

When a scheme bears no fruit we can but conjecture whether fruit was seriously expected from it: yet, the proposals for this marriage were laid out with a show of serious intentions; the conditions were discussed; the English privy council applied to the King to learn whether the separation of France from April.

the See of Rome was to be insisted upon;[1] the Admiral of France held out more than hopes that, although not to be demanded as a preliminary, it would follow as a consequence.[2] As before, when the Spanish treaty was in contemplation, there was a provision that Mary's illegitimacy should be corrected by Act of Parliament.[3] The only point remaining to be settled, it seemed, was the dowry, and here no great difficulty was anticipated. But the shadowy nature of the prospect disclosed itself when the French ambassador communicated the expectation of his Government on the point of money. It was nothing more than a relinquishment of the entire arrears which were owing to England, and a transfer of the two pensions as a marriage portion to the Duke of Orleans.

Seeing that the sum so quietly asked for amounted to a million crowns, the pension to a hundred and fifty thousand annually, and that the largest dowry for which

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[1] 'To know from his Highness whether his Highness's commissioners shall press the ambassador to bind the King his master to relinquish wholly the Bishop of Rome, or that he shall not meddle with the said Bishop in anything concerning the treaty of this marriage.'—Privy Council Memoranda: *Rolls House MS.*

[2] Paget saying to him that England never would return to the Pope—virtue and vice could not agree together—'Call you him vice?' the Admiral replied. 'He is the very devil; I trust once to see his confusion. Everything must have a beginning. I think ere it be long the King my master will convert all the abbeys of his realm into the possession of his lay gentlemen, and so forth by little and little, if you will join us, to overthrow him altogether. Why may we not have a patriarch here in France?'—Paget to Henry VIII.: BURNET'S *Collectanea.*

[3] *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 676, &c.

there was a precedent as having been given on similar occasions was four hundred thousand crowns, the request was less than decent: nor did it receive a better complexion when, in defence of his exorbitancy, Francis undervalued his own security, and threw a doubt upon his liability to pay. When the English ambassador proposed, as a fairer sum, three hundred thousand crowns, the King of France, in profound astonishment, exclaimed that the Pope had offered him as much as that with his niece, 'in ready money.'[1] He began to raise questions on the debt itself, to imagine conditions in the treaty of Moor Park which he pretended that Henry had not fulfilled. While he did not deny his obligations, he would not acknowledge them. 'There were knots,' he said, in the claims upon him. The King of England ought to have sent him assistance when the Emperor invaded Provence. It would be better to prevent disputes by a clearance of the score.

May.

Meanwhile the Catholic party at Paris were not idle. They, too, desired to clear the score, but to clear it by a quarrel; and, if war followed, they had no objection. French pirates were again robbing in the Channel. A sailor named De Valle had laid before the Government

[1] 'See you not,' said the King, 'this Pope, qui n'est qu'un petit prêtre in comparison of the King my brother, so audacieux as to send me word he was as well able to marry his niece with the house of France as Clement was; and if that I would join with him, he would give me 300,000 crowns in ready money; and the King my brother offereth me but as much, and that in such sort as he shall lay out never a penny for it. Whereunto I said your Majesty accounted the sum to be as ready money as the Bishop did his, for your Majesty thought the payment of it good.'—Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 29.

a project for the occupation of Canada. He was supplied with ships and stores, and had been allowed to empty the prisons to provide colonists for his intended settlement. When he found himself in command of a fleet manned by these promising crews, he hung about the English coasts, pillaging every vessel that came in his way.[1] Part of the gang haunted the Isle of Wight; others seized Lundy Island and waylaid the Bristol traders. The party at Lundy were accounted for by the Clovelly fishermen, who, after sufficient experience of the character of the party, went off in their boats, burnt a pirate ship, and made some end or other of the crew.[2] But this just and necessary exercise of justice was seized upon as a fresh pretext for dispute. It was represented to Francis that his innocent subjects had been causelessly attacked and destroyed by the English.[3] The

[1] Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 676.

[2] The Privy Council to Paget: ibid. vol. ix. p. 172.

[3] The right had not been always on the English side. An exploring vessel equipped from London for discoveries in North America, was delayed in Newfoundland, and almost starved there. When at the extremity of famine, a French ship arrived 'well furnished with victual, and such,' says Hakluyt, 'was the policy of the English that they became masters of the same, and changing ships and victualling them, they set sail to come into England.' Hakluyt disguises behind an ambiguous phrase, an act of open piracy. In excuse it could only be urged that the English had been reduced to devour more than one of their own crew. They returned safely, and 'certain months after,' the story continues, 'those Frenchmen came into England and made complaint to King Henry. The King causing the matter to be examined, and finding the great distress of his subjects, and the causes of the dealing so with the French, was so moved with pity that he punished not his subjects, but of his own purse made full a royal recompense unto the French.'—HAKLUYT, vol. iii. pp. 169, 170.

prospect of the marriage grew daily weaker; the probabilities of a rupture grew daily stronger; while the question of the debt had been complicated, as had been long feared, by the hint of repudiation. The pretext was idle. At the invasion of Provence Francis had professed himself satisfied, and even gratefully thankful, by a remission of the payment only during the continuance of the pressure upon him. His own letters were extant, emphatically committing him; but the more trivial the excuse, the greater the difficulty of enduring the fault.

The Admiral and the Queen of Navarre would not yet relinquish their hopes; and it seemed, indeed, as if the object was not really to induce Henry to surrender his debt, but to consent to an alteration in the map of Europe for the benefit of France. To the French proposal the King replied at once that it was 'too unreasonable.' If such a demand 'had been made when the Emperor and the French King were so great that all the world thought them one,' he would not have listened to it. The shuffling about the money he received so haughtily, that the French ambassador in London attempted an apology.[1] De Bryon entered with Paget more fully into details. The money question ought to be settled, he said; what would the King of England accept? or would he accept anything? Paget was not a man to commit himself, still less to commit his country; but he hinted that the Calais boundary was a difficulty. If Ardes could be surrendered to England; if

[1] The Privy Council to Paget: *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 708.

the frontier could be extended so as to make the towns and garrisons independent of supplies from home; it would be something—he could not tell. Francis must be explicit. In that case he could perhaps give an answer. The Admiral could not offer an extension of territory at the expense of France; but the boundary might be extended in another direction. 'To speak frankly,' he said, 'will you enter the war with us against the Emperor, and be enemy to enemy, the King your master to set upon land in Flanders ten thousand Englishmen, and we ten thousand Frenchmen; pay the wages of five thousand Almains, and we as many; find two thousand horses and we three thousand; find a certain number of ships, and we as many? Of such lands as shall be conquered, the pension first to be redoubled, and the rest divided equally. What a thing will it be to your master to have Gravelines, Dunkirk, Burburg, and all those quarters joining Calais!' 'M. Admiral,' Paget replied, 'these matters be too great for my wits. I know no quarrel that my master hath against the Emperor.' 'God!' cried the Admiral, 'why say ye so? Doth he not owe your master money? Hath he not broken the league with him in six hundred points? Did he not provoke us and the Pope also to join in taking of your realm from you in prey for disobedience? A pestilence take him, false dissembler, saving my duty to the majesty of a King. If he had you at such advantage as you may now have him, you should well know it at his hand.'[1]

[1] Paget to Henry VIII.: BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 505, &c.

A partition of the Netherlands had been discussed too often to sound either strange or startling. Two years before Henry had suggested it to Francis, and Francis had then betrayed the intention to the Emperor. But times were changed. Charles had given up his ambition of invading England; and the English Government was at leisure to calculate which of the two powers was most likely to observe its engagements. From the good feeling of neither had Henry much to expect. One prince had intended to dethrone him; the other now wished to cheat him out of his money. But the commerce between Flanders and England had survived the dissensions between their sovereigns, and the revenues of the Low Countries depended on the prosperity of their trade. As the summer drew on, Charles's embarrassments were known to be increasing, and his scrupulousness must proportionately diminish. The Admiral's proposals sounded well; but experience had proved that the Reforming faction at Paris were too weak to control permanently the direction of French policy, while if Charles was laid under obligations to England, and on the other side appeared an unnatural and monstrous combination between Francis, Paul, and Solyman, it was possible that the difficulties of Europe might be settled at last by Henry's favourite project—a council under the auspices of himself and the Emperor, where England and Germany might be freely represented. On this side the balance seemed to incline; and the course which the different Courts would pursue was anticipated by the instinct of popular judgment, before

overt acts had declared it to the world. In the middle of May rumours were flying in Paris of a war with England. In June the belief was general in Europe that the Emperor had privately married the Princess Mary.[1] The debt to England, the impossibility of paying it, and the consequent reasonableness of a quarrel, was in every Frenchman's mouth.[2] The Orleans marriage was no more alluded to. The anti-English party were in the ascendant, and gave the tone to public feeling. Cardinal Beton was again at the Court, and in Beton's presence the Archbishop of Paris affected to complain to Paget of the eagerness of the people.

June 13.

'It were alms to whip them,' he said. 'But the devil cannot stop them but they will be in the midst of the King's council, and say we shall have war with the Emperor, and the King of England will take the Emperor's part; but if he do, we shall send thither the

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[1] 'M. l'Ambassadeur,' quoth the Admiral to me, 'to be frank with you, I hear strange news, and by such credible report as me thinketh it cannot but be true.' 'What is that?' quoth I. 'Marry,' quoth he, 'by private letters I am informed that the Emperor hath married your daughter.' 'And if so be,' quoth I, 'would you not have my master marry his daughter but to whom ye will, and as you will?' 'Oui-dà,' quoth he, 'and it is already done.' 'I believe it not,' quoth I. 'Par Saint Jehan, il est vrai, da pour tant,' quoth he, 'for I have letters thereof out of Flanders, out of Spain, from Lyons, and from Rome; and the King your master will make war with the Emperor, and will lend him money,' &c.—Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 47.

[2] 'I have noted in all my conference with these men, not only the fashion of ill debtors, that do neither intreat for respite nor yet be glad to hear of their debt, but also in a manner an unkind charging of your Majesty. Of their debts every man speaketh, and all the world knoweth they be not able to pay.'—Ibid.

Scots, the Danes, and the Swedes to eat up all the Englishmen in four days.'

'Englishmen,' replied Paget, quietly, 'be not easy morsels to swallow; and their operation is such that, if any man take upon him to eat them, they will cause him with the sight thereof straight to burst.' 'The Scots know it well enough,' he added, for the Cardinal's benefit; 'and as for the Danes and Swedes, they be wise fellows, and know that they that come into England cannot depart thence without license and passport of the King's Majesty.'[1] This was but the play of wit upon the surface; but it indicated the direction of the current, and the substantial fact became every day more visible, that the French would neither pay the arrears of their debts nor continue the pension. They were confident of Scotland. The will of James was the will of David Beton, and if Henry 'made any business with France, the Scottish King would straight molest him.'[2] 'As touching the pension,' Paget wrote again in August to the King,[3] 'they love not to hear of it, and that I note, not only now and heretofore, both by words and countenance in all my conferences, as well with the admiral as with the French King, and from the Cardinal Tournon's mouth, by the report of his secretary, that the French King thought none other but that your Majesty would join with the Emperor against him, but also by the report of the

August.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 75.
[2] Ibid. p. 106; communicated in cypher.
[3] In cypher also; ibid. p. 115.

ambassador of Ferrara, who said to me, discoursing with me of the world, that he would that the marriage between the Duke of Orleans and your Majesty's daughter had gone forward; and when I answered that so would I, but that the demand was too unreasonable, he answered, it had been as good to have quit the debt that way as never to have it paid. Why should it never be paid? quoth I. Marry, quoth he, for the French King saith that you have broken league with him, and therefore he may with honour break league with you. I marvel he would say so, quoth I, for we have broken no league with him. I assure you, quoth he, whensoever you shall ask your pension earnestly, look to make a breach with them.'

By this time hostilities with the Empire had commenced. Francis, to gain the advantage of the surprise, had, as usual, struck the first blow, without observing trifling formalities and declaring war. M. de Vendosme entered the Low Countries in July. Monterey and Tourneham fell to him immediately, and he would have taken Dunkirk but for fear of the interference of the English. De Rieulx, the Imperialist commander, was able only to act on the defensive; and the Flemish troops, who, as Sir John Wallop said, 'were nothing worth,' offered but a feeble opposition. The Piedmont army was reinforced to move upon Lombardy; French galleys were reported as having gone up to Constantinople to quicken the movements of Barbarossa;[1] and

[1] Moslem fanaticism appeared for once to have been of some use to Europe. 'The Turk, it is affirmed, hath refused to impress

Francis prepared in person, with the flower of his troops, to cut his way into Spain. The Emperor 'was in great agony and trouble of mind, being vexed in so many parts.' Secret communications had been for some months in progress, with a view to a treaty with England. But, besides the broad fact of the excommunication, a difficulty had occurred when the conditions came under discussion that the two sovereigns should declare themselves friends to friends and enemies to enemies. There were temporal enemies and there were spiritual enemies; and that the Pope, who was essentially both, might not escape inclusion, Henry had stipulated for the employment of the word 'spiritualis.'[1] Notwithstanding the good-will on both sides, and the necessity on one, Charles was embarrassed with the dilemma, and shrank from it: but in the mean time the old treaties were still nominally in force, by which, in the event of invasion, England and the empire were mutually bound to assist each other. As Francis had invaded the Netherlands without notice, England might reasonably dispense with forms, as the French King had done, and send a few thousand men to the assistance of De Rieulx; or, if more feasible, might effect a diversion by seizing Mottreul.[2] Both proposals were seriously

such money as he promised to the French King, alleging that his priests, whom he counselled upon the matter, hath concluded to be against their religion to loan money to Christian men. And to Polino, the ambassador, hath been declared that it were no use to send out any navy this present year, whereby the Frenchmen are deluded of the great expectation which they had.'—Harvel to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 154.

[1] Ibid. pp. 41, 66, 214, and 355.

[2] Ibid. pp. 90—96.

considered. On the whole, however, it was thought better to proceed more regularly. Resentment was fast bringing Charles into a humour which would not halt at minor difficulties, especially as the Pope was declaring more and more obviously in favour of France; and a remarkable despatch of Bonner, the minister in residence at the Imperial Court,[1] written on the 9th of September, describes the state of feeling into which the Emperor had worked himself; while the hope which the perusal of Bonner's letter excited in Henry, may be traced also in the side notes and pen marks which he left upon the paper.

September. 'The Emperor,' wrote the Bishop, 'suffereth much and says little touching the Bishop of Rome, knowing how necessary he is for him, if he may have him, and also how expedient it is for him to keep him from joining with the French King. *But of truth*[2] *I think, an the Emperor once do break with the Bishop of Rome, which, if this war with France hold on, will shortly appear, he will be to him* acerrimus hostis.[3] *Here of late came a post from Rome, passing by France, bringing letters to the Nuntio, wherein was contained that the Bishop of Rome, to pacify this war between the Emperor and the French King, had determined to send two cardinals, the one, Contarini, to the Emperor, the other,*

[1] Bonner's diplomatic ability was so great as to overweigh objections from his coarseness. He was also an accomplished Italian, and probably also a Spanish, scholar.

[2] The words in italics are those which are underlined by the King.

[3] Opposite these words stands a marginal note in Henry's hand—*Bene.*

Sadoletto, to the French King. The said post is returned again by sea, and with letters from the Emperor to the Bishop of Rome, that he shall not trouble of himself with sending of any cardinal to him,[1] *for he is determined, seeing the French King hath begun, to make an end, and to proceed against him as extremely as he can.'*[2] In a letter four days later to the Bishop of Westminster, Bonner related an interview with Granvelle, in which the difficulties in completing the alliance had been under debate. As Henry had required a rupture with the Pope, so it seemed that the Pope, on his side, had protested against a confederacy with a heretic. But the minister assured him that their patience was exhausted, and their hesitation was at an end. The Emperor felt towards England nothing but goodwill, and although it was 'not convenient' openly to break with the Pope, they 'had no great cause to love him or to trust him, and the English Government, ere it was long, would see what they would do against him.' They held his Holiness entirely responsible for the rupture, which he might have prevented had he desired; and Granvelle went so far as to say, that the Cortes were so much irritated as lately to have told the Papal Nuntio, 'that if the Pope would not better do his office, they would conjoin and combine themselves with his adversaries in Almayne; yea, *cum Lutheranis*, and have a council.'[3] Granvelle was the most unscrupulous of liars, and the Emperor

[1] Henry writes again, *N. Bene.*

[2] Bonner to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 157.

[3] Bonner to Thirlby: *State Papers*, vol. ix. pp. 163—169.

had, perhaps, no objection to the employment of salutary falsehood. From himself, however, Bonner was less successful in extracting any such positive expression. 'I provoked him,' said the ambassador, 'to have uttered somewhat of his stomach against the Bishop of Rome, telling him that the French King never would have gone about this war if the Bishop of Rome had seriously forbidden him; and the said Bishop deserved small thanks of his Majesty for casting bones before princes, that he himself might reign.' Charles listened, but said nothing. 'He is very close,' the baffled Bishop added, 'and rather contented to do things than to utter them.'[1]

So far, however, there was no doubt that he had resolved to displease the Pope by an alliance with Henry; and by this time, on all sides, his prospects were brightening. De Vendosme, in fear of Sir John Wallop, had made no further progress in Belgium. The Emperor, with infinite exertion, had reinforced his Italian army, and De Guasto not only had lost no ground, but had invaded Piedmont, and had come off with the honours of the campaign. The great enterprise conducted by Francis in person had failed scarcely less completely than the Spanish invasion of Provence in 1536. The intention was to enter Spain at the eastern extremity of the Pyrenees; but the Duke of Alva had thrown himself into Perpignan, which commanded the pass. The position could not be turned, and the nature

[1] Bonner to Thirlby: *State Papers*, vol. ix. pp. 163—169.

of the country, and the form of Alva's lines, made a blockade impossible. Francis sat down before the place in July. He attempted to storm; but the veterans opposed to him, though inferior in numbers, were among the finest troops in Europe, and had the advantage of the ground. He tried a bombardment; but the Spanish artillery was heavier and better served than his own, and his siege guns were dismounted. The garrison was relieved, or reinforced at pleasure, from the rear; the communication could not be broken; and while his own camp was suffering from want of provisions, he had the mortification, day after day, of seeing the cattle grazing in the meadows below the walls, under the protection of Alva's batteries.

Two months were wasted over a project which was hopeless from the beginning; and at last, on the 24th of September, Francis retired, with the discredit of defeat.

On all sides but one the events of the summer had been unfavourable to the French. In Hungary the Turks had again triumphed; and Solyman's success might once more be counted as a doubtful victory for his allies. Ferdinand, with the aid of the German diet, had collected a hundred thousand men to retrieve the disasters of the past year. They had advanced from Vienna, full of hope and crusading enthusiasm. Pesth and Buda were to be retaken; they would drive the Crescent from the Danube, perhaps out of Europe. The expedition was accompanied by a party of English gentlemen—Sir Thomas Seymour among the number—either with commissions from the King, or led

October.

thither by their own desire for adventure. Never was the uncertainty of war more signally exemplified. Ferdinand had the advantage of a good cause. He had numbers, courage, confidence on his side. The European, in fair battle, man to man, was more than a match for the Asiatic; yet the campaign was a complete and ruinous failure. He attacked Pesth; but the German troops were beaten back in the assault, and suffered, though but slightly, in a series of insignificant skirmishes. They were disheartened, not by defeat, but by the absence of success, and by a consciousness of Ferdinand's bad generalship. They became disorganized, they broke in pieces, scattered, and retreated in a panic.[1]

The success of his confederate enabled Francis to endure more composedly his own disappointment. He had done little that summer, he said, for want of funds, and want of preparation; when the next year came, with the help of the Turkish fleet, he would carry the world before him. Every day his relations with England were becoming more inimical; but he was in his reckless mood, defiant and indifferent. 'He would give his daughter to be strumpet to a bordel,' he said, 'to be sure of the encounter with the Emperor;'[2] as to Henry, it was enough that he was secure of Beton, and a Scottish army had but to cross the border to arouse a fresh Pilgrimage of Grace.

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[1] Seymour to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 201; and see ibid. pp. 212—223.

[2] Paget assured the King that Francis 'used those words, and worse.' —Ibid. p. 182.

The Scots, it seemed, were of the same opinion. Already, at the close of the summer, before the harvest had been gathered in, the depredations began on a scale which was the prelude of war. Nor, indeed, if James obtained access to the secrets of the English council, was the attack wholly unprovoked. Being satisfied, at last, that as long as the Scottish King avoided the interview, he could not liberate him from Beton's control, Henry, since a free visit could not be arranged, had thought of employing some gentle constraint. James was in the habit of going at night on secret expeditions of a character questionable or unquestionable, with few attendants. Sir Thomas Wharton, the Warden of the West Marches, suggested that, if he watched his opportunity, he might contrive to stoop down upon the adventurous prince unexpectedly, snatch him over the Border, and escort him thus to his uncle's presence. Henry listened not unfavourably; but he would hardly sanction such an enterprise on his own authority, and referred it to the council, who saw difficulties, and even were something scandalized. The warden might fail. James might be hurt; perhaps might be killed in the scuffle. They would not hear of it, and almost reproached the King for inviting them to consider a proposition so out of all order.[1] Henry would not act

[1] 'As concerning the King of Scots, surely, sire, we take it to be a matter of marvellously great importance, and of such sort and nature, considering it toucheth the taking of the person of a King in his own realm, and by the subjects of his uncle, not being at enmity with him, that unless your Majesty had commanded us expressly to consider it, we would have been afraid to have thought on such a matter touching a

against their opinion. Wharton's zeal was not encouraged; and James, it is likely, never heard that the suggestion had been made. But whether he knew it, or was merely obeying his destiny, he allowed himself to become the instrument of the crooked policy of Francis; and, to his misfortune, he was encouraged at the outset by a gleam of success. Lord Maxwell, the Scottish warden, having been in vain called upon to keep the Borderers quiet, Sir Robert Bowes crossed the Marches in pursuit of a party of them, and, falling into an ambuscade at Halydon Rigg, was taken prisoner with a number of other gentlemen. War was now unavoidable.

August 24.

James, elated at his victory, sent a messenger with a report of it to the French Court. In crossing the Channel the petty skirmish grew into a great action, at which a thousand English had been killed,[1] and Francis himself spoke without reserve of the King of England's approaching destruction. 'Your Majesty,' so Paget reported him as saying, 'had begun with the Scots, and the Scots had given you your hands full. He did understand that you would make war upon him; he feared you nothing at all. You were able to do him no hurt; for you had against you the Pope; the Emperor was not your assured friend; you had made the Scottish King your enemy; your own people loved you not; and you had against you God and all the world. This should

King's person, standing the terms as they stand between you.'—Privy Council to the King; *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 204.

[1] Paget to Henry VIII.: Ibid. vol. ix. p. 174.

be your Majesty's ruin. He had done much for you, and you little for him; and when Pope, and Emperor, and all the world would have had him to overrun you and your realm, he withheld himself, and stayed them all.'[2] Paget said his heart 'throbbed with anger,' at this most audacious speech. Francis owed his release from a Spanish prison to Henry's interference; he owed the recovery of his children to Henry's money; and he had repaid him with promises, broken as easily as they were made; with intrigues in Scotland, ceaseless and mischievous; with the breach of a series of engagements which had run parallel to the quarrel with the Papacy; and now, at last, with the repudiation of his debts. If England was not invaded in 1539, her escape was not due to the King of France, but to the cannon which guarded the English shores, and the nerve with which English conspiracies had been crushed. Henry had ample cause of quarrel with every Catholic sovereign in Europe, had he cared to insist upon it. Francis believed that he would have God and the world against him, and that his ruin was near. Francis was an un-

[1] La Planche, one of the French council, told Paget that James in his letter had complained that Henry went about without good cause to oppress him. 'To this,' said Paget, 'I answered, 'If the Scottish King had complained, I think he played the curst cat that scratted and cried, for I knew your Majesty to be of such virtue and knowledge that you would not make war upon him, being your nephew, without occasion.' 'Of one thing you may be sure,' quoth he, 'that a king of France will never suffer a king of Scotland to be oppressed:' which words were out or he was aware; and to amend the matter, he added, 'no more than a King of England will suffer an Emperor or a French King to be overcome one of another, but to keep them in an equality.'"—Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 179.

skilful astrologer; and the English, as Paget said, were morsels less easy to swallow.

The Scots desired war, and war they should have. Halydon Rigg had been taken by the Scottish clergy as an earnest of instant triumph and an evidence of Divine favour. 'All is ours,' was the cry among them. 'The English are but heretics. If we be a thousand, and they ten thousand, they dare not fight. France shall enter on one part, and we on the other; and so shall England be conquered within a year.'[1] In reply to these loud menaces the Duke of Norfolk moved forward from York, where his troops had collected; and Henry at the same time issued a manifesto of the causes by which he was compelled to take a course that 'he so much abhorred.'

October. 'Being now enforced to the war,' he said, 'which we have always hitherto so much fled, by one who, above all others, for our manifold benefits towards him, hath most just cause to love us, honour us, and rejoice in our quietness, we have thought good to notify unto the world his doings and behaviour in the provocation of this war, and likewise the means and ways by us used to eschew and avoid it; and by utterance and divulging of that matter to disburden some part of our inward displeasure and grief. The King of Scots, our nephew and neighbour, whom we in his youth and tender age preserved and maintained from the great danger of others, and by our authority conduced him safely to the real possession of his estate, he now compelleth and

[1] KNOX'S *History of the Reformation in Scotland.*

forceth us, for the preservation of our honour and right, to use our power against him. The like unkindness hath been heretofore showed in other semblable cases against God's law, man's law, and all humanity; but the oftener it chanceth, the more it is to be abhorred.

'It hath been very rarely and seldom seen before that a king of Scots had had in marriage a daughter of England. We cannot, we will not reprehend the King our father's act therein; but lament and be sorry it took no better effect. The King our father minded love, amity, and perpetual friendship between the posterity of both, which how soon it failed, the death of the King of Scots, as a just punishment of God for his invasion into this our realm, is and shall be a perpetual testimony. And yet in that time could not the unkindness of the father extinguish in us the natural love of our nephew his son, being then in the miserable age of tender youth; but we then, forgetting the displeasure that should have worthily provoked us to invade that realm, nourished and brought up our nephew to achieve his father's Government, wherein he now so unkindly behaveth him towards us. Our chief grief and displeasure is that, under a colour of fair speech and flattering words, we be indeed so injured, contemned, and despised, as we ought not with sufferance to pass over. Words, writings, letters, messages, embassies, excuses, allegations could not be more pleasantly, more gently, nor more reverently devised and sent than hath been made on the King of Scots' behalf to us; and ever we trusted the tree would bring forth good fruit, that was of the

one part of so good a stock, and continually in appearance put forth so fair buds, and therefore would hardly believe or give ear to others that ever alleged the deeds of the contrary, being nevertheless the same deeds so manifest as we must needs have regarded them had we not been loath to think evil of our nephew. And thereupon, having a message sent unto us the year past from our said nephew, and a promise made for the repairing of the King of Scots unto us to York, and after great preparation on our part made therefore, the same meeting was not only disappointed, but also an invasion was made into our realm, declaring an evident contempt of us.

'We were yet glad to impute the default of the meeting to the advice of his council, and the invasion to the lewdness of his subjects; and albeit the King of Scots having, contrary to the article of amity, received and entertained such rebels as were of the chief and principal in stirring the insurrection of the north against us, with refusal beforetime, upon request made, to restore the same; yet, nevertheless, we were content to forbear to press them over extremely in the matter of the rebels, and gave a benign audience to such ambassadors as repaired hither, as if no such cause of displeasure had occurred.

'In the mean time of these fair words the deeds of the Borders were as extreme as might be, and our subjects spoiled; and in a raid made by Sir Robert Bowes, for a revenge thereof, the same Sir Robert Bowes, with many others taken prisoners, are yet detained in Scot-

land, without putting them to fine and ransom, as hath ever been accustomed. And being at the same time a surceaunce made on both sides, for the settlement of these matters of the Border, by commissioners appointed therefor,[1] the Scots ceased not to make sundry invasions into our realm, in such wise as we were compelled to forget fair words, and only to consider the King of Scots' deeds, which appeared to us of that sort as they ought not for our duty in defence of our subjects, and could not in respect of our honour, be passed over unreformed; and therefore we put in a readiness our army as a due mean whereby we might attain such peace as for the safeguard of our subjects we be bound to procure.

'We have patiently suffered many delusions; but should we suffer our people to be so often spoiled without remedy? This is done by the Scots, whatsoever their words be. Should we suffer our rebels to be detained, contrary to the leagues? This is also done by them, whatsoever their words be. Should we suffer our land to be usurped,[2] contrary to our most plain evidence? This is done by them, whatsoever their words be. Yet, in the intreating of this matter, if we had not evidently perceived the lack of such affection as proximity of blood should require, we would much rather have remitted these injuries of our nephew than we did heretofore the invasion of his father. But, considering we be so surely ascertained of the lack thereof, and that our blood is there frozen with the cold air of

[1] I omit a technical detail of the precise point of dispute.

[2] Alluding to a strip of the debatable land.

Scotland, there was never prince more violently compelled to war than we be, by the unkind dealing, unjust behaviour, unprincely demeanour of him that in nature is our nephew, and in his acts and deeds declareth himself not to be moved therewith.

'The present war hath not proceeded of any demand of our right of superiority, which the kings of Scots have always knowledged by homage and fealty to our progenitors; but it hath been provoked and occasioned upon present matter of displeasure, present injury, present wrong. If we had minded the possession of Scotland, and by the motion of war to attain the same, there was never king of this realm had more opportunity in the minority of our nephew. Law and reason serveth that passing over of time is not allegeable in prescription for the loss of any right. For which cause, nevertheless, we do not enter this war, ne minded to demand any such matter, now being rather desirous to rejoice and take comfort in the friendship of our neighbour than to move matters unto him of displeasure. But such be the works of God, superior over all, to suffer occasions to be ministered whereby due superiority may be known, demanded, and required, to the intent that, according thereunto, all things governed in due order here, we may to His pleasure pass over this life to His honour and glory; which He grant us to do in such rest, peace, and tranquillity as shall be meet and convenient for us.'[1]

A protracted invasion, so late in the season, was, for

[1] Declaration of the Cause of the War with Scotland: HALL, p. 846.

many reasons, undesirable. No force large enough to penetrate into the country with safety could maintain itself more than a few days. The Borderers had been the chief offenders; and the campaign was to be a Border foray on a vast scale. On the 21st of October Norfolk entered Scotland with twenty thousand men, and remained in the Lothians for nine days. The harvest had been newly gathered in: it was reduced to ashes. Farms, villages, towns, abbeys, went down in blazing ruins; and having fringed the Tweed with a black broad mourning rim of havoc, fifteen miles across, and having thus inflicted a lesson which, for the present season at least would not be forgotten, he then withdrew. Fifteen thousand Scots hung upon his skirts, but would not venture an engagement; and he returned in insolent leisure to Berwick. Here, owing to a want of foresight in the commissariat department, he found the supplies inadequate to the maintenance of his followers, and with some misgiving lest the enemy might attempt a retaliation which, with reduced numbers, he might find a difficulty in preventing, he left in garrison for the winter a fifth only of his army, and, sending the rest to their homes, he rejoined the council at York.

In a despatch to Sir T. Wriothesley, on the 9th of November, he confessed his surprise at the Scottish inaction, and attributed it justly to disagreement among themselves, and want of ability in their leaders.[1] A further conjecture, that 'the King

November.

[1] 'To be plain with you, it is something strange to me to conject what it should mean that the Scots do nothing attempt against us, for

would gladly agree with England, but his council would not suffer him,'[1] was less well founded. James was present in person with the Scottish force; and hot spirited, and perhaps the more passionate from a latent knowledge of the unwisdom of his course, he had longed for the excitement of a battle. He would have attacked Norfolk while within his frontier; he would have pursued his retreat; he desired afterwards to carry fire and sword into Northumberland. But the Scottish lords, either retaining a wholesome memory of Flodden, or from some other cause, refused to follow. James exploded in anger. He called them traitors, cowards, unworthy of their ancestors;[2] but to no purpose. Some were kinsmen of the Douglases, and still resented their exile; some hated the clergy, and carried on their hatred to the war which the clergy had promoted. Deaf to entreaties and indifferent to taunts, they watched the English across the Tweed, and dispersed to their homes.

The King, deserted by his subjects, returned sullenly to Edinburgh. Such members of the council as shared his disappointment, and would humour his mood, were called together, and Beton played upon his irritation to strike a blow which he had long meditated, and had once already attempted in vain. The absorption of the

though there is much scarcity of victual among them, yet being so furnished of multitude of men near to the Border as they are, I think, if they would, they might ere now have done some displeasures. Surely they lack good captains.' — Norfolk to Wriothesley: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 221.

[1] Ibid.

[2] BUCHANAN, vol. ii. p. 169.

Church lands by the English laity had not been without an effect upon their northern neighbours. In the first panic, when the idea was new, and the word sacrilege was sounded in their ears, the Scottish noblemen had united in the clamours of the clergy, and had expected some great judgment to mark the anger of Heaven. But years had passed on without bringing the threatened punishments. England was standing prouder and stronger than ever; and even such good Catholics as the Irish chiefs had commenced a similar process of deglutition, much to their comfort. The double example brought with it a double force. Many worthy people began to think it might be wisely imitated; and the suspected of the Church were among the late recusants in the army. Beton drew up a list of more than a hundred earls, knights, and gentlemen, whom he represented to be heretics, and to meditate a design of selling their country to England. To cut them off would be a service to Heaven; and their estates, which would be confiscated, would replenish the deficiencies in the treasury.[1] The first time this pretty suggestion had been made to James he had rejected it with fitting detestation; now he told Beton that 'he saw his words were true,' and that 'his nobles desired neither his honour nor his continuance.'[2] If the Cardinal and the clergy would find him the means of making his raid into England without them, and revenge their backwardness by a separate victory, he would devote himself

[1] Knox, Calderwood, and Buchanan.

[2] Knox.

heart and soul to the Church's cause, and Beton should be his adviser for ever.

The secret was scrupulously guarded. Letters were circulated privately among such of the nobles as were of undoubted orthodoxy among the retainers and connections of the bishops and abbots, and among those whose personal loyalty would outweigh either prudence or any other interest. The order was to meet the King at Lochmaben on the night of the 24th of November. No details were given of the intended enterprise. A miscellaneous host was summoned to assemble, without concert, without organization, without an object ascertained, or any leader mentioned but James.

Ten thousand men gathered in the darkness under this wild invitation. The Western Border was feebly defended. The body of the English were at Berwick. The Scots found that they were expected on the instant, before warning could be given, to cross into the Marches of Cumberland, to waste the country in revenge for the inroad of Norfolk, and, if possible, surprise Carlisle. The Cardinal and the Earl of Arran would meanwhile distract the attention of the troops at Berwick by a demonstration at Newark.

At midnight, more like a mob than an army, they marched out of Lochmaben. James alone could have given coherence to their movements, for in his name only they were met. James, for the first and last time in his life, displayed either prudence or personal timidity, and allowed them to advance without him. Each nobleman and gentleman held together his personal

followers; but no one knew in the darkness who was present, who was absent. A shadow of imagined command lay with Lord Maxwell as Warden of the Marches; but the King of Scots, jealous ever of the best-affected of his lords, intended to keep the credit of the success, yet without sharing in the enterprise. He had therefore perilously allowed the expedition to go forward with no nominal head; and as soon as the border was crossed, Oliver Sinclair, one of those worthless minions with which the Scottish Court, to its misfortune, was so often burdened, was instructed to declare himself the general-in-chief in the King's name.

The arrangements had been laid skilfully, so far as effecting a surprise. The November night covered the advance, and no hint of the approach of the Scots preceded them. They were across the Esk before daybreak, and the Cumberland farmers, waking from their sleep, saw the line of their corn-stacks smoking from Longtown to the Roman wall. The garrison of Carlisle, ignorant of the force of the invaders, dared not, for the first hours of the morning, leave the walls of the city, and there was no other available force in readiness. The Scots spread unresisted over the country, wasting at their pleasure.

But the English Borderers were not the men to stand by quietly as soon as they had recovered from their first alarm. There were no men-at-arms at hand; but the farmers and their farm-servants had but to snatch their arms and spring into their saddles, and they became at once 'the Northern Horse,' famed as

the finest light cavalry in the known world.[1] As the day grew on they gathered in tens and twenties.

Nov. 25. By the afternoon, Sir Thomas Wharton, Lord Dacres, and Lord Musgrave had collected three or four hundred, who hovered about the enemy, cutting off the stragglers, and driving the scattered parties in upon the main body. Being without organization, and with no one to give orders, the Scots flocked together as they could, and their numbers added to their confusion. The cry rose for direction, and in the midst of the tumult, at the most critical moment, Oliver Sinclair was lifted on spears and proclaimed through the crowd as commander. Who was Sinclair? men asked. Every knight and gentleman, every common clan follower, felt himself and his kindred insulted. The evening was closing in; the attacks of the English became hotter; the tumult and noise increased, 'every man calling his own slogan;' and a troop of Cumberland horse showing themselves in the dusk on an unexpected side, a shout was raised that the Duke of Norfolk was upon them with the army of the Tweed. A moment's thought would have shown them that Norfolk could not be within thirty miles of Carlisle; but his name caused a panic, and reflection was impossible. Few or none in the whole multitude knew the ground, and ten thousand men were blundering like sheep, in the darkness, back upon the Border.

But here a fresh difficulty rose. The tide was

[1] See *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 127; and the accounts of their value in the Irish campaigns: ibid. vols. ii. and iii.

flowing up the Solway. They had lost the route by which they had advanced in the morning, and had strayed towards the sea. Some flung away their arms and struggled over the water; some were drowned; some ran into the ruins of the houses which they had burnt, and surrendered themselves to women when there were no men to take them. The main body wandered at last into Solway Moss, a morass between Gretna and the Esk, where Wharton, who knew where he was, had them at his mercy, and substantially the whole army were either killed or made prisoners. Intending to remain for several days in England, they had brought tents and stores. They had twenty-four cannon, with carts and ammunition. All were left behind or taken. Lord Maxwell refused to turn his back, and fell early in the evening into the hands of the English. 'Stout Oliver was taken without stroke, flying full manfully.'[1] In the morning Wharton sent a list of captures to the King, with the names of the Earls of Cassalis and Glencairn, Lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, and Grey, Sir Oliver Sinclair, and two hundred gentlemen. Never, in all the wars between England and Scotland, had there been a defeat more complete, more sudden and disgraceful. More lives were lost at Flodden; but at Flodden two armies had met fairly matched, and the Scotch had fallen with their faces to their enemies. At Solway Moss ten thousand men had fled before a few hundred farmers, whom they had surprised

[1] KNOX.

in their homes. 'Worldly men say that all this came by misorder and fortune,' said Knox; 'but whoever has the least spunk of the knowledge of God, may as evidently see the work of his hand in this discomfiture as ever was seen in any of the battles left to us in register by the Holy Ghost.' The folly of venturing such an expedition without order or leader may account for the failure; but who shall account for the folly? The unlucky King was given over to believe a lie. 'The Cardinal had promised heaven for the destruction of England;' and the Cardinal had mistaken wholly the intentions of Heaven upon the matter. In the dead of the night stragglers dropped into Lochmaben, with their tale of calamity. The King had not slept. He had sat still, watching for news; and when the tidings came they were his deathblow. With a long, bitter cry, he exclaimed, 'Oh! fled Oliver! Is Oliver taken? Oh! fled Oliver!' And, muttering the same miserable words, he returned to Edinburgh, half paralyzed with shame and sorrow. There other ominous news were waiting for him. An English herald had been at the Court for a fortnight, with a message from Henry, to which he expected a reply. The invasion was the answer which James intended, and on the fatal night of the march the herald was dismissed. On the road to Dunbar, two of the northern refugees who had been out in the rebellion overtook and murdered him. A crime for which the King was but indirectly responsible need not have added much to the weight of the lost battle; but one of the murderers had been

intimate with Beton. To kill a herald was, by the law of arms, sacrilege, and fresh disgrace had been brought upon a cause of which his better judgment saw too clearly the injustice. The Cardinal came back from the Border to concert measures to repair the disaster of the Solway; but his presence was unendurable. James, as well as Knox, saw in the overwhelming calamity which had prostrated him the immediate judgment of the Upper Powers, and in a dreamy, half-conscious melancholy, he left Holyrood, and wandered into Fife to the discarded minister whose advice he had so fatally neglected, the old Lord Treasurer. Kirkaldy himself was absent from home. His wife received the King with loyal affection; but he had no definite purpose in going thither, and he would not remain. The hand of death was upon him, and he knew it, and he waited its last grasp with passive indifference. 'My portion in this world is short,' he said to her; 'I shall not be with you fifteen days.' His servants asked him where he would spend his Christmas. 'I cannot tell,' he said; 'but this I can tell—on yule day ye will be masterless, and the realm without a king.'

Two boys whom Mary of Guise had borne to him had died in the year preceding. The Queen was at Linlithgow, expecting every day her third confinement. But James was weary of earth and earthly interests. He showed no desire to see her. He went languidly to Falkland; and there, on the 8th of December, came tidings that there was again an heir to the crown; that a princess, known afterwards as Mary Stuart, had been

brought into the world. But he could not rally out of his apathy. He only said, 'The deil go with it. It will end as it begun. It came from a lass, and it will end with a lass.' And so, falling back into his old song, 'Fie! fled Oliver! Is Oliver taken? All is lost!' in a few more days, he moaned away his life. In the pocket of his dress was found Beton's scroll, with the list of names marked for destruction.

[1 Dec. 18.

To such end had the blessing of Paul III., and the cap, and the sword, and the midnight mass, brought at last a gallant gentleman.

CHAPTER XX.

THE FRENCH WAR.

THE King of England, determining, in spite of the Papal excommunication, to assert his place in the European system as a Christian sovereign; to assist in the defence of Europe against the Ottomans; to tempt Charles to follow the English example—to break with the Papacy, and unite with himself in calling a council, where the religious differences could be settled with a reasonable liberality—determining, also, whether the greater object could be achieved or not, to introduce order into the length and breadth of his own land; if possible, to conciliate Scotland; if Scotland would not be conciliated, no longer to permit the back gate of his kingdom to lie open to the intrigues of the enemies of England, and to compel the people to fear the power which they rejected as an ally :—

The King of France, careless of religion, careless of honour, careless of Europe, caring only to humiliate the Emperor, to annex Milan, to escape payment of his debts; on the one hand inviting the Turks into Germany

and the Mediterranean; on the other, feeding in Scotland the animosities of the nation against the English, and the special hatred of the clergy against Henry and the Reformation:—

Charles V., embarrassed between his orthodoxy as a Catholic and his duties as a prince, resolute, apparently, to check the ambition and punish the treachery of Francis, to compose the spiritual anarchy which distracted the Empire, and to drive back the advancing wave of Mahometanism which threatened to close the Protestant controversies in Europe, as Kaled and Omar nine centuries before had closed the quarrels of the sects in Antioch and Alexandria; yet knowing well that for such undertakings steel and powder would do more for victory than the lightnings of the Vatican; and, in spite of himself and of the anger of the Pope, compelled into an alliance with the heretic of England; hoping, if it might be so, to win him back to conformity; satisfied, if persuasion should fail, that with a clear conscience he might leave him to his fate, when his support should no longer be necessary; finally, doing for the day what the exigencies of the day demanded, and leaving the morrow to resolve its own difficulties:—

Paul III., concentrating under the influence of Reginald Pole the whole energies of his nature into a blind and malignant hatred of Henry VIII.; alarmed at the progress of Solyman, yet counting him a spirit of light, compared with a rival 'head of the Church;' disapproving the Koran, yet fearing less injury to the

soul from the rhapsodies of Mahomet than from Tyndal's Bible and the 'Institution of a Christian Man;' furious at his past failures, at the blighted conspiracies, the recent defection of Ireland, the still later defeat at Solway Moss, and dreading now that Scotland, his last hope, would fail him also; furious at the Emperor for inclining to the heresiarch whom he had promised to destroy; and therefore pardoning in Francis his alliance with the Porte, for the strength which that alliance might lend him to defy Henry and maintain David Beton and the queen-mother:—

These were the respective objects and attitudes of the great powers of Europe at the termination of the year 1542; these were the tendencies out of which the future, so far as the policy of statesmen and sovereigns could affect it, was to form itself. The direction of events in England and Scotland, France and Germany, ceased to be guided by local and superficial influences, and moved with the broad undercurrent which penetrated from one to the other; the resolutions of the Estates at Edinburgh were dictated from the Vatican or from Paris; the relations between England and France were turned out of their course by the necessity which was compelling into one the two nations which divided between them the small island of Britain. December.

The news of the Scottish invasion, and of the murder of the herald, reached London simultaneously; the death of James, which so soon followed, was undreamt of till it actually occurred; and Henry, encouraged by

the extraordinary success on the Solway, made up his mind to hesitate no longer, to carry the country by storm before the nation had recovered from their panic, and to assert his feudal sovereignty over the northern kingdom. The lords and gentlemen who had been taken prisoners in the battle were brought up express to the Court. After two days' confinement in the Tower they were paraded in public through the streets to Whitehall, where they listened to a detail from the mouth of the chancellor of their own and the King's offences. They were then set at liberty, on their parole, and were dispersed as guests among the houses of the English nobles. A formal demand was despatched to Edinburgh for the surrender of the murderers; and Sir William Paget was instructed to lay before the French sovereign a copy of the declaration of the causes of the war, and to require him to abstain from interference. Francis insisted in reply that he was bound by treaty to support his allies. He said that James had acted wisely in refusing the interview, that the right in the dispute was with him, and not with Henry; and that he would not allow Scotland to be crushed.[1] But the opposition or the open hostility of France was anticipated, and if undesired could be endured. With the opening of the spring Henry had resolved to cross the

[1] Paget said that Francis 'sat with a sour countenance' while he delivered his message. He then broke into a passion, cut Paget's story short, and said 'Tush, tush. M. l'Ambassadeur, I will be plain with you; it was the point you went about to break him from me, and because you could not compass that by fair means, you went about with force.'—*State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 246, &c.

Border at the head of his army, when it became known that James was beyond the reach of earthly punishment, and the sovereign with whom he was at war was an infant girl. The council of Scotland communicated the news in a letter of prostrate humiliation. While relating the loss which had fallen upon them, they added that they had arrested the men who had killed the herald, and would deliver them up immediately to justice. They trusted that his Highness's blood reigning within their realm, he would not fail to desire the tranquillity of it; 'they had thought it above all things most needful to seek the ways whereby all diversity betwixt the two realms might be brought to amity and quiet;' and they entreated that at once a six months' armistice might be proclaimed on the Borders, till terms of peace could be agreed on.[1] Evidently either the spirit of the whole nation was broken, or Beton and Beton's party were no longer in the ascendant.

In fact, for the moment, the Cardinal had ruined his cause. The invasion of England, which had terminated so disastrously, had been his exclusive work. Foreseeing that the recoil of feeling, inevitable under any circumstances, would be stimulated by the fate of the King, he had ventured a desperate effort to retain his supremacy. He had hastened to the bedside of the dying monarch, and had guided his hand, at the moment of departure, in the signature of a paper by which the regency was conferred upon himself and upon those of the

[1] The Council of Scotland to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 231.

nobles on whose devotion to the Papacy he could calculate.[1] He was proclaimed at the market-cross at Edinburgh, but the impudent forgery was exposed and denounced; and the discovery of the list of names which revealed the conspiracy against the lords who had opposed the war with England raised at once a storm of rage. The Earl of Arran, whose name was first upon the catalogue, was next of kin to the princess, and by Scottish usage was her legitimate guardian. Arran, with the assistance of Sir James Kirkaldy, called a convention of the nobles, and, by a majority too great even to allow a shadow of resistance, was declared Regent. The Cardinal was arrested and imprisoned; and the power passed from the Church to the laity.[2]

The circumstances of the two countries now resem-

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[1] The popular belief was that the document was signed after death. 'As many affirm,' says Knox, 'a dead man's hand was made to subscribe a blank that they might write above it what pleased them best:' and see BUCHANAN and CALDERWOOD. The Earl of Arran told Sir Ralph Sadler that 'the Cardinal did counterfeit the late King's testament, and when the King was even almost dead, he took his hand in his and caused him to subscribe a blank paper.'—*Sadler Papers*, vol. ii. p. 136, &c.

[2] The upper classes in Scotland were so fickle, that their prevailing disposition is not easily discoverable. It is clear, however, that when by accidental causes the influence of the Church was neutralized, the balance at times inclined towards England and good sense. Paget in January wrote to Henry that he had met a Scotchman in Paris, and had spoken to him about the war. 'The foul evil,' quoth the Scot, 'take them that began it; I am sure it was neither of both Kings,' and laid the fault on the bishops, somewhat railing on them. 'By God's body,' quoth he, 'things had gone otherwise by this time if the temporal lords might have had their will.'—Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 263.

bled those which had succeeded the battle of Flodden. A great invasion had a second time been followed by a great defeat, by the death of a king, and by the succession of an infant. A second time there was an opportunity for a union of the Crowns by marriage. A second time there was an interval of penitence, when suffering brought with it wiser counsels. The recurring crisis was attended only with this difference, that before Scotland was left with a prince who was then to be mated with an English princess. The position was now reversed. A girl inherited the throne of the Stuarts: a boy, a few years older, was the heir of the rival crown.[1] But, under either form, 'the situation,' to use the language of Knox, 'was a wonderful providence of God;' and while the wounds of Solway Moss were still green, and the memory of suffering was fresh, the fear of the

[1] The difference was, perhaps, more important than it seemed. Sir Ralph Sadler, in a conversation with Sir Adam Otterburn, spoke of the opportunity and occasion offered by God's providence for the two realms to be knit and conjoined in one. 'I pray you,' said Otterburn, 'give me leave to ask you a question: If,' said he, 'your lad were a lass, and our lass were a lad, would you then,' said he, 'be so earnest in this matter; and could you be content that our lad should marry your lass and so be King of England?' I answered that 'Considering the great good that might ensue of it, I should not show myself zealous to my country if I should not consent to it.' 'Well,' said he, 'if you had the lass and we the lad, we could be well content with it; but,' saith he, 'I cannot believe that your nation could agree to have a Scot to be King of England. And likewise I assure you,' said he, 'that our nation being a stout nation, will never agree to have an Englishman to be King of Scotland.'—*Sadler Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 325-6. Unhappily for the value of the excuse, the Scots had already rejected the offer in the form which they professed to prefer.

Scottish council seemed rather that Henry, in his present humour, would refuse to grant again conditions so honourably moderate.

Therefore it was that, on the King's death, they made haste to secure their ground by a ready submission; while at the same time, by electing a regent on their own authority who was known to be hostile to Beton, they at once secured the outward independence of their Government, and took away from Henry a pretence for an armed interference. The two murderers were sent under a guard to Alnwick, where they were placed in the hands of Lord Lisle.[1] When examined on the motives of their crime, one of them—the Lincoln insurgent, Leech—maintained an obstinate silence; his companion, Priestman, who was also a refugee, was more cowardly or less scrupulous. This man stated that they had been in great poverty, and they had supposed that some 'notable exploit' done against their countrymen might bring them into favour at the Court. With this view they had suggested to the King that the herald and his party were probably spies; and, should it so please him, they would intercept and punish them. The King, Priestman said, gave them no answer in words, but from signs and gestures they gathered that 'he forced not, though the men had a shrewd turn.' His secretary was explicit in his encouragement. They need be in no fear, he told them, of being given up to the English: 'If they had killed the King of England

[1] Sir John Dudley, created Lord Lisle on the death of Arthur Plantagenet, son of Edward IV.

himself they would not be delivered;' and the Cardinal would give them 'wages' as soon as they had earned his favour. They still hesitated: to assure themselves certainly they applied for directions to Beton himself; and of the instructions which had been given in this quarter, Priestman could not speak with certainty. His companion had been admitted to a private interview; and, knowing nothing of the details of the conversation between Leech and the Cardinal, he could himself say only that the enterprise was regarded with general favour. Neither Beton nor any other person, in his own hearing, had expressly advised the murder; but 'he might perceive,' he said, 'as well by their fashion that they would have such a thing done as though they had commanded them precisely to do it.'[1] With the evidence made imperfect by the silence of the other prisoner, the Cardinal may have the benefit of the cautious verdict of his countrymen. His complicity was 'not proven;' but, though the herald was in himself an insignificant person, it is not unlikely that the subtle churchman, afraid of the King's vacillation, desired to embitter the quarrel with England, beyond hope of reconciliation, by a desperate and unpardonable outrage.

At any rate, whether guilty or innocent, Beton was driven from power, and was secured in Blackness Castle from committing further crimes. There was a prospect of peace—peace, at last, on the broad basis of acknowledged interest; and Henry, catching gladly at the op-

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v. pp. 236-7.

portunity, invited the Scotch prisoners, with the Earl of Angus and his brother, to a conference in London. He expressed his anxious desire to heal the old wounds, once and for ever, by a treaty of perpetual peace and the betrothal of Edward and Mary. His objects and his offers were the same precisely which he had desired and proposed twenty years before; but, taught by the experience of past failures, he would not again, if security were possible, expose a combination of occasions, which might never recur, to be ruined by Scotch fickleness. This time he would ensure his success by substantial conditions. He suggested that, on the signature of the two treaties, the infant Queen should be brought into England to be educated; that the Castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton should be occupied by English garrisons; that, in the place of a regency, Scotland should be governed by a native council, in the nomination of which he should be himself admitted to a voice; and to Cardinal Beton he paid the same respect which he had paid previously to his uncle the Archbishop—the prisons on the south side of the Border he believed to be safer than those on the north.

If in the administration of human affairs that course is the best which will accomplish, with the smallest amount of inconvenience or suffering, results which in themselves are sooner or later inevitable, we cannot but applaud a scheme which, had circumstances permitted its accomplishment, would have spared Scotland a century of needless calamity, and perhaps might have spread

in peace the forms of the Church of England over the united kingdoms. The noblemen whom the King was addressing acquiesced, or professed to acquiesce, with unreserved heartiness. Their imprisonment was declared at an end. They were permitted to return to their country, undertaking on their part to further the English policy with all their power. They gave a promise, should they be unable to accomplish Henry's expectations, again to surrender themselves, or to pay the moderate ransom at which the price of their liberty was fixed; but, in reality, the condition of their deliverance was the peace between England and Scotland. Success seemed all but certain. It was possible that, notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the council, force might still be required to take possession of the fortresses, and to escort the Cardinal into England; and Lord Lisle received orders to support the Earl of Angus with four thousand men.[1] But an easy and bloodless victory was confidently anticipated. On the 30th of December the two hundred lords and gentlemen who, a few weeks before, had been carried in triumph through London, were dismissed with costly presents from the Court. On the 31st the Lord Mayor entertained them at a banquet in the Guildhall; and on New-year's day after, pausing at Enfield to pay their court to the young prince,[2] they set out for the north, carrying back with them, as it seemed, not only a desire for an alliance with the nation which they had entered as armed invaders, but the in-

[1] Henry VIII. to Lord Lisle: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 242.
[2] Holinshed.

tention of introducing into Scotland the English Bible and the principles of the English Reformation.

In Paris the tidings of these strange events were received at first with incredulity, and afterwads with fear. The release of the prisoners was known: the conditions, though not declared, were more than suspected. A Scot endeavoured to extract the secret out of Paget; and although the ambassador was too skilful a diplomatist to be entrapped by questions,[1] yet the situation and its obvious suggestions left little doubt of Henry's intentions;[2] and the Catholic faction in the French council determined at all hazards to thwart him. The disaster of November had overthrown Beton; but the links which bound France and Scotland were woven out of the hatred of centuries for a common enemy, and could not be destroyed by a momentary accident. They affected to see in the intended marriage the sacrifice of a nation's independence, the insidious approach of a rival power watching its opportunity; and they

[1] Paget's graphic descriptions must not be mutilated. 'I hear say,' quoth the Scot, 'they [the prisoners] be gone home. Wot you for what cause?' 'I wot not,' quoth I, 'but that it be to make their ransom.' 'I believe not,' quoth he, 'the King your master would let them go home for that purpose.' 'Yea, by my troth,' quoth I, 'for the King my master is a prince of so good faith that he thinketh every other man of honesty to be the same.' 'By God's body,' quoth he, 'they be fools if they come again.' 'Say not so,' quoth I, 'for shame of your country; you never learnt that disloyalty in Scotland.'—Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 263.

[2] 'I hear credibly that they be much afeared here that your Majesty will marry my Lord Prince to the daughter of Scotland. They say your Majesty doth therein what you can, but they trust to break your purpose.'—Same to same: ibid. p. 273, &c.

knew that they were striking a note to which many a Scottish heart would vibrate. They flung themselves into the cause with an affection of generous sympathy. Volunteers in the beginning of January were offering themselves to defend the throne of the daughter of Mary of Guise, or to carry her away from the snares of artful enemies and treacherous subjects, into the safe asylum of France. 'From highest to lowest,' the English ambassador wrote from Paris to Henry, 'every man in this Court maketh the matter of the Scots almost their own.'[1] They had assisted James with ammunition and money to commence the war. Barges were now loading at Rouen with cannon, shot, and powder, pikes and muskets;[2] the cargoes to be transferred to ships, which were to land them at Leith at the earliest opportunity. For the moment the river was impassable from a severe frost; but on the instant of a thaw, the Duke of Guise would cross from Normandy, and either liberate the Cardinal and restore the Church party to power, or frustrate Henry's hopes by carrying back with him his daughter and her child.

1543. January.

Feb. 2.

The English agents spared no money in the purchase of information; the preparations at Rouen and the intentions of Guise were soon known in London, and ships of war were equipped at Newcastle and Hull, to watch and intercept the passage. The ice which delayed the French blocked also the outlets of the Eng-

[1] 'They do boast the Scots,' he adds, 'with brags and lies, that it is wonder to hear.'—*State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 257.

[2] Paget to Henry VIII.: ibid. p. 287; letter written in cypher.

lish harbours;[1] but, before the expedition could sail, Guise learnt that he was too late, and to accomplish his enterprise he must risk a battle.

To have failed in catching the first moment of agitation, it might well be hoped was to have failed wholly. If the Scotch council were true to their promises, little more was to be feared from French interference. On one point, indeed, the intentions of Henry were frustrated at the outset. The Douglases, on their arrival with their companions, found Arran too firmly seated in the regency to be displaced; and the Government by a council was impossible. The disappointment, however, so far, was of no particular moment. The Regent had been honoured by Beton's especial dislike. His infirm character would render him a pliant instrument of the English policy; and he was described as 'a soft God's man, that loved well to look on the Scripture.'[2] His first acts were full of promise. He issued licenses of preaching to 'two stout gospellers,' Thomas Williams and John Rough, whom the Cardinal had intended for the stake. 'The slaves of Satan,' says Knox, 'roupit as they had been ravens; yea, rather they yelled and roared that Williams and Rough would carry the governour unto the devil.'[3] But Arran for once was reso-

[1] 'The harbour here is so frozen, that, notwithstanding all the policy and good means possible used, as well in breaking of the ice by men's labour as otherwise, the said ships be not yet gotten out.'—Suffolk to the Council from Newcastle: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 244.

[2] Lisle and the Bishop of Durham to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 235, &c.

[3] KNOX'S *History of the Reformation in Scotland.*

lute. The champion of the Church was in safe custody, and a native Government, could its constancy be relied upon, would do Henry's work more effectually, and would create less jealousy in doing it, uncontrolled by foreign interference.

But clouds, though at first light, were not long in rising. In the middle of February Sir George Douglas came down to Lord Lisle at Berwick, and one by one requested a relaxation of the remaining conditions. English garrisons could not be introduced without great difficulty into the castles; the conveyance of the Cardinal into England would create a general irritation; and still more questionably, when Lisle spoke of the coming of the Duke of Guise, Douglas said that the council did not intend to prevent his landing, but would content themselves with limiting the number of his train. The known ability of Sir George Douglas could not permit the English commander to regard him as a dupe. Such a man could not be ignorant that, if Guise was once at Edinburgh, with the command of money which he would bring with him, he would make a party instantly among the needy and covetous nobles, and Blackness would not hold its prisoner for four-and-twenty hours.[1] If the Regent was seriously meditating such an act of infatuation, it should not be without an effort to save him from himself, and Lisle warned the Earl of Arran of the nature of the power with which he was dealing, and of the danger of trifling with it.[2]

[1] Lisle to the Duke of Suffolk: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 249.

[2] 'Your lordship must consider that you meddle now with the most

But the fault of Arran as yet had not passed beyond weakness. He was timid as a statesman. He shrunk from the odium and the possible danger of throwing himself absolutely on the support of England; and without that support he was too feeble to pursue openly an avowed English policy. He believed that he could compensate for his want of strength by dexterity of management; and he was dealing with an enemy who, in the use of such a weapon, could play with him as with a child.

Cardinal David Beton, Archbishop of St Andrew's, approached nearly to the ideal of the Romanist statesman of the age. Devoted to the Pope and to the Papacy, he served his master with the unvarying consistency, with the mingled passion and calmness which, beyond all other known institutions, the Roman Church has the power of imparting to its votaries. The sensual pleasures of which his profession as an ecclesiastic deprived him of the open enjoyment, he was permitted to obtain by private licentiousness; his indulgences were compensated by a fidelity with which they never interfered; and the surrender of innocuous vices was not demanded of a man to whom no crime was difficult which would further the interests of his cause. His scent of heresy was as the sleuth hound's, and, as the sleuth hound's, was only satisfied with blood. He was cruel when the Church demanded cruelty, treacherous and false when treachery and falsehood would serve the

noble prince and father of wisdom of all the world. His Majesty will not be trifled with in no case.'—Lisle to the Earl of Arran: ibid. p. 250.

interests to which he had sold himself; his courage was as matchless as his subtlety; his accomplishments as exquisite as his intellect.

It was little wonder that for such a man Henry thought the Tower of London a safer prison than Blackness, and himself a surer gaoler than the Earl of Arran. No sooner was Beton under arrest than he drew up letters of interdict for the whole of Scotland. They were passed through the hands of his keepers, and copies were distributed among the clergy. There was no lash or gallows, as in England, to correct the over-zeal of the ecclesiastics. The letters were obeyed without scruple and without exception. Although the 'gospellers' might preach, no mass might be sung in any church in Scotland, no corpse be buried, child be baptized, or impatient lover united in matrimony, till the heavy edict should be withdrawn.[1] The body of the Cardinal was imprisoned. His spirit escaped through the walls and moved omnipotent through the land. When the people complained, it was answered that the servant of the Church was suffering for the truth and for his country, which a treacherous faction would betray to England and to heresy. The temporal lords of Scotland were ill able to cope with such an antagonist. It was not till a power, preternatural as his own, till the spirit of the Reformation stood out to battle with him, that the haughty Beton at last would vail his crest. The Government durst not

March.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 250; *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 108.

send him into England, and dared as little to punish him themselves. They temporized, they hesitated, and at length, taking refuge in inertia, they would not release their prisoner, but they left the country to suffer and grow impatient.

On the 12th of March, while the interdict was still in force, the Estates assembled at Edinburgh to consider the state of the realm and the English treaties. At the outset the prospect still promised fairly. The nomination of Arran to the regency was confirmed; and on the first day of the session 'the Lords of the Articles, after they had heard my Lord Governor's mind, having consideration of the adversity of times bye gone, and of the dangerous appearances of skaith of the time instant and sicklike to come, concluded that an ample commission should be made and sent with ambassadors to the King of England, for taking, treating, and concluding of peace perpetual; that another commission should be made to the same ambassadors, to conclude a marriage betwixt the Queen of Scotland and Edward Prince of Wales,[1] apparent heritor of England.'[2]

So far all was well. A general acquiescence was admitted in the King of England's views. But similar negotiations twenty years before had advanced to the admission of the principle. It appeared rapidly that the same struggle would repeat itself in the discussion of

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[1] The Prince, it is to be observed, was described as 'Prince of Wales,' although his formal creation was deferred, and was never actually accomplished.

[2] *Acts of the Scottish Parliament*, March 13th, 1543.

the details. Henry, made wise by experience, had required the custody and the control of the education of the Queen. The Parliament determined that, 'for many inconveniences like to ensue,' they must refuse this important condition. Four Scottish noblemen should reside in England as hostages for the Queen's appearance there when she had arrived at marriageable age; but for the present she must remain with her mother, surrounded, of course, by French courtiers and Romanist ecclesiastics, whose influence Henry, if he pleased, might neutralize by attaching a limited number of English gentlemen and ladies to the royal household. Looking forward to the ultimate completion of the marriage, they decided next that, when that event had taken place, the realm should nevertheless retain its ancient liberties, and its name of Scotland; the national Parliament should continue undisturbed; the regency should be assured for life to the Earl of Arran; and if there should be issue from the marriage, and the crowns of the two kingdoms be united in a single person, the administration should descend by the ordinary laws of inheritance in the Arran family; the country should be ruled for ever under 'a governour born of the realm,' and guided by the native laws.[1]

These preposterous resolutions were gravely determined on. It is impossible to believe that there was a serious expectation that they would be accepted in England as the basis of a treaty. The commissioners selected

[1] *Acts of the Scottish Parliament*, March, 1543; *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 59; *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 271, &c.

to carry them to London, Sir James Leirmouth, Sir William Hamilton, and Balnavis of Halhill, unknown men of inferior rank, were not likely to recommend in the delivery an unpalatable message; and it may be assumed that the object was to escape from the difficulty by exacting impossible conditions, and throwing upon Henry the burden of the refusal.

While, however, the jealousy of England was so conspicuous, the Parliament, nevertheless, displayed a more promising spirit on matters of religion. As yet there was no leaning visible towards the Cardinal; and three days after the discussion of the treaties Lord Maxwell proposed that the people should be permitted the use of the English Bible. In Beton's absence the Archbishop of Glasgow entered a protest on behalf of the episcopate, and entreated a delay until a provincial council of the clergy should have declared their assent;[1] but his opposition was waived. Maxwell's proposal had been received with evident favour; and the Lords of the Articles having pronounced that no existing law forbade the reading of a translation of the Scriptures, a proclamation made public the liberty which, beyond all other things, the Church with keenest instinct dreaded. One special point for which the King of England had laboured was gained. Could he but wait his time, his other wishes, he was assured, would in due time accomplish themselves.[2]

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[1] *Acts of the Scottish Parliament*, May 15th.

[2] 'Then might have been seen,' says Knox, 'the Bible lying about upon every gentleman's table. The New Testament also was borne about

Where there was hope that the end might be accomplished by patience, an endurance which had already lasted through thirty years of disappointment could still continue. The success of Maxwell's measure compensated for the remaining failures. But amidst the uncertainties and inconsistencies of the Scotch nature which had been so tediously experienced, Henry required at least a just information of their proceedings and intentions. The proposals of the Parliament had not yet reached him, for Leirmouth and his companions had been slow in departing on their errand. A vague impression of a difficulty was all which had transpired; and Sadler, whose past experience and acquaintance at the Scottish Court best qualified him for the post, was sent to reside at Edinburgh, to observe and to report. While affairs remained unsettled, a strong English force was maintained upon the Borders; large sums of money were secretly distributed among the northern lords; the Earl of Angus and his brother, whom Henry had maintained for fifteen years in their exile, were now his almoners to others, while they continued his pensioners themselves. He required to be assured that his revenues

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in many men's hands. We grant that some, alas, profaned that blessed word. Some, perhaps, that had never read ten sentences of it had it most common in their hands. They would chop their familiars in the cheek with it and say, this has lain under my bed-foot these ten years. Others would glory, how often have I been in danger for this book, how secretly have I stolen away from my wife at midnight to read upon it. And this was done to make court thereby, for all men esteemed the governour to be the most fervent Protestant that was in Europe.' 'Nevertheless,' he adds, 'the knowledge spread.' — KNOX'S *History of the Reformation.*

were not squandered in unavailing efforts, and by unfaithful stewards.

On the 20th of March, Sadler reported his arrival and reception at Edinburgh, where Sir George Douglas had partially introduced him behind the scenes. There had been sad work, Douglas told him. At one time the Catholic Earls, Huntly, Argyle, Murray, and Bothwell, had threatened to make a party with the clergy, and hold an opposition Parliament at Perth. He had not slept three hours any night since his return from England. But the worst was over, and he trusted that at last all would go well. 'They had grinned at each other, but there was none that would bite;' and if the King would be contented with slow progress, he believed that it would be sure. This much, however, was certain, that if at present the delivery of the Queen, or the custody of the fortresses, was insisted on, Beton would be set at liberty, the French would be called in to assist, and all that had been accomplished would be undone. 'There was not so little a boy but he would hurl stones at it, the wives would handle their distaffs, and the commons universally would die in it.'[1] Douglas might be right, but he had used different language

[1] Sir Ralph Sadler to Henry VIII.: *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 70. One of the many critics who have undertaken to expose my erroneous estimate of the character of Henry VIII. has quoted these words (changing the 'it' into 'him,' and the 'in' into 'against'), as an evidence of the detestation with which the King was regarded by his *subjects*. I presume that he had seen the passage in a quotation, and was too well satisfied with the burden of it to inquire from what despatch or document it was taken. But the fallacy of extracts could scarcely be carried further.

a few weeks previously in London. Moreover, it was whispered that he had held a secret interview with the Cardinal, in which the supposed enemies had suspiciously embraced each other. Sadler knew that he was breathing an atmosphere of falsehood. His business was to give his ear to every one, and to believe so far as he saw occasion. When Douglas left him he found himself instantly surrounded by noble lords and gentlemen of all factions and parties, coming each of them with their several stories to instruct or mislead; each assuring him that all were dishonest but themselves, and each anxious to finger the English gold. Lord Bothwell, whom Douglas declared to be Henry's most inveterate enemy, brought his offers of service and devotion, and kindly intimated that the Solway prisoners were playing false. On the 23rd of March, three days after his arrival, the ambassador had an interview with Mary of Guise; and the queen-mother, the centre and chief instrument, as was supposed, of French intrigues, informed him that her best wish was to see her child in England. For the marriage, 'she could not otherwise think but it was the work and ordinance of God for the conjunction and union of the realms;'[1] but she warned him to hope for nothing from the Regent. The Earl of Arran, she said, intended her daughter not for Prince Edward, but for his own son. He was playing with England for his present convenience; but he would keep the Queen in his hands till her minority was over, and by that time Henry

[1] Sadler to Henry VIII.: *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 84, &c.

would be dead, and excuses could be found without difficulty to break the contract. The truest friend to the two countries, she gravely assured Sadler, was Cardinal Beton. If Beton were once at liberty, the King of England's wishes would be all fulfilled. The English Court were living in a delusion. They depended on the Regent and the Douglases, whose only thought was how to defeat their desires; and she herself, she declared, was in fear for the life of her child as long as she remained in Scotland. The Regent had his eye upon the crown. He was already preparing the public to hear of the infant's death by spreading rumours that she was sickly.

The accomplished hypocrisy did not convince; yet it was not wholly without effect. Sir George Douglas had cautioned the ambassador against the queen-mother; the queen-mother warned him against Sir George Douglas. He perceived that there was 'some juggling,' but the grace and charm of Mary of Guise forbade him for the moment to believe with certainty that the falsehood was with her. She saw the impression which she had made, and, with winning confidence, she led him into her nursery, and lifted the baby out of the cradle, that he might admire its health and loveliness. Alas, for the child! born in sorrow, and nurtured in treachery! It grew to be Mary Stuart; and Sir Ralph Sadler lived to sit on the commission which investigated the murder of Darnley.

For the present, perplexities thickened about him. The Regent himself, in successive conversations, had

professed the most vehement wishes to satisfy Henry. The week after the ambassador arrived, Arran assured him that he cared nothing for the interdict, and that so long as he lived 'the Cardinal should never have his liberty, nor come out of prison, unless it were to his further mischief.' Within a few days the Cardinal was secure within the walls of his own castle of St Andrew's (which his retainers had held in his name against the Government while he was in Blackness), under the nominal custody of Lord Seton, who was his surest friend. It was true that his detention in Scotland was no longer possible without a civil war. Easter was approaching, and the people would not endure that the season should pass unobserved. The Catholic Earls had threatened to liberate him by force, and a transparent compromise had covered without concealing the Regent's weakness. The truth might have been regretted, but it would have been intelligible. But the childish pretence which Arran attempted to maintain, that he was still a prisoner, and that the transfer had been a stroke of policy to recover possession of an important stronghold, only provoked suspicion. The King was liable to mistakes in the characters of women. He saw in Sadler's reports that those at least who had pretended to be his friends were falling short of their declarations. The Douglases had left his presence full of fair words, pretences, and promises: their engagements had melted into worse than inconsistency. Sir George had communicated secretly with Beton. It was through him that Beton was said to have been liberated; March 20.

and, believing them treacherous, when, in fact, they were only embarrassed with difficulties too complicated to be avowed, Henry fell deeper than even his minister under the snares of the queen-mother. He was 'in marvellous perplexity' what to say of their late doings —of 'the strange fashion of removing the Cardinal, denied at first, doubted of after, then granted by Sir George Douglas.' He would no longer 'be deceived by fair words, and the deeds so repugnant to them,' while in the subtle daughter of the Duke of Guise he imagined that he saw 'a frank and plain manner of proceeding, such as motherly love to the surety of her child should in manner persuade her unto.'[1] In his exasperation he even extended his confidence to her judgment as well as to herself. Those on whom he had depended had failed him. He believed, after all, that he might expect more from the party who had been his open enemies, and listened with despairing credulity to her praises of Cardinal Beton. The latter, to whom the queen-mother had given a hint, supported her assertions by a letter from St Andrew's to Sadler, in which after sending his hearty commendations, he said that having recovered his liberty, he was anxious to offer his services to the King's Majesty, and would be glad to see the English minister at the castle.[2] Henry supposed that the offers perhaps might be meant in honesty. He directed that the invitation should be accepted; he permitted the suggestion of a hope that, if the Cardinal would at length

[1] *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. pp. 100, 101. [2] Ibid. p. 104.

honestly lend his help towards the settlement of the kingdom, he would gratefully accept his friendship; and should a change of sides entail the loss of his preferments in France, he undertook to see him substantially indemnified.[1]

Sir Ralph Sadler, on the spot, saw clearer than Henry in London: and, though shaken, he could not wholly share his change of confidences. It was possible that the Queen and Cardinal were desiring only to create suspicion between the Court of England and the Regent and his advisers. It was possible that the latter were still partially honest, and had broken their promises as much from inability to keep them as from unwillingness. He continued, therefore, for the present, to listen to both sides—to wait, as he expressed it, for 'better experience of the fidelity and truth of French and Scottish than he had had as yet, before he would presume to give a certain judgment.' He informed Arran of his interview with Mary. Arran assured him that, whatever she pretended, 'he would find her, in the end, a right Frenchwoman.' Her only object was to preserve Scotland to France, and to prevent the alliance with England which she professed to desire. 'This,' he said, 'is her device, while, as she is both subtle and wily, so she hath a vengeable engine[2] and wit to work her purpose. She laboureth, by all means

[1] Privy Council to Sadler: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 280, &c. It is necessary to relate these dreary intricacies of deception, that Henry's ultimate resentment and the storm which at length he let loose on Scotland may be seen to have been not unprovoked.

[2] Ingenium,—'disposition.

she can, to have the Cardinal at liberty;[1] by whom, being as good a Frenchman as she is a Frenchwoman, she might the rather compass her intent.'[2] From Arran the perplexed minister went again to the Queen, who assured him positively that, since his last visit, the Regent had avowed to her openly his intention of keeping her daughter for his son. He had told her that 'he would rather die than deliver the child into the hands of the King of England; but he would give good words and make fair weather till better opportunity.' Whatever he promised, neither he nor the lords would accomplish any one real step towards a union of the kingdoms. For herself, she again said, that she feared for her life, and she wished herself in England.

April 2.

Her eagerness had carried her a little too far. If she wished to be in England, Sadler suggested that there would be no great difficulty in an escape. She would be received with the child with open arms, and would earn his master's gratitude for ever. She turned the subject to the praises of Beton. If Beton had been free, she said, there would have been no difficulty. The treaties would already have been arranged; and even but lately he had sent her word that, could he leave St Andrew's, he would go to London, and with

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[1] 'At liberty,' that is, to leave St Andrew's and come to Edinburgh, to take a share in the Government. If he could dupe Henry into a momentary reliance upon him, he would recover his power without difficulty.

[2] Sadler to the Privy Council: *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 108.

his own lips convince the King of his sincerity.[1] The remains of Sadler's scepticism yielded before so confident audacity. 'The Queen, as I take her,' he wrote, when he left her presence, 'earnestly desireth the marriage of her daughter to my Lord Prince's Grace.'[2]

On the other hand, if parties had changed sides on the English alliance, they kept their places on the sister question of religion. The Cardinal continued constant to the Church. The Regent was still liberal towards the Protestants. The contradiction was obvious. The uncertainty returned, and was increased by other causes. The minister had been instructed to urge on Arran's Government three especial requests. The first, for a license for the general use of the Bible, had been at once fulfilled. The second, for the abolition of the Papal supremacy and the suppression of the monasteries, was under consideration, and appeared to be desired. The Earl declared, without reserve, that 'he thought all monasteries were founded to pray for souls in purgatory; and, if there were no purgatory, *as he was clearly of opinion that there was not*, their foundation was vain and frustrate.'[3] The third point in the commission, which had been hitherto reserved, tested the truth of the queen-mother's story that Arran entertained a private design in the marriage question. It was a pro-

[1] *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 115.

[2] Ibid. p. 116.

[3] Sadler to the King: *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 128. It is remarkable that the ambassador, though writing to Henry, reports these words with evident sympathy on his own part, and with as evident an expectation that they would be read with approval.

posal, in the event of his fidelity, for an alliance between the son whom Mary of Guise pretended that he designed for the young Queen, and the Lady Elizabeth. The suggestion was now brought forward as an experiment of the Earl's honesty, and, to Sadler's surprise, was received with cordial gratitude. The Regent did not deny that he had thought of the other connection before the King's wishes were made known to him; but he had relinquished all expectation of it, and was delighted at the honour of the King's offer.

These things made in the Earl's favour; but the atmosphere was impregnated with lies. Lord Fleming declared that Arran had said to him 'that sooner than the Queen should marry into England, he would carry her away into the Isles;'[1] Arran evidently dreaded the Cardinal; the Cardinal, as Sir George Douglas as well as the Queen now protested, was in his heart devoted to England; and even at times Sadler himself found the Regent 'utterly determined to abide the extremity of war rather than condescend to the accomplishment of the King's desires.'[2]

If the Scottish question had waited for its solution till the intentions of the nobles could be discovered from their language, the perplexity threatened to be of long continuance. But, in the mean time, Henry had submitted a definite demand to the Scottish Parliament, and they had returned him a definite answer. The despatch of it had been delayed; but the questionable

[1] *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 127. [2] Ibid. p. 147.

embassy to whom it had been entrusted had at length reached London. Their message was delivered, and bore immediate and substantial fruit. The King was sick of lying and tired of evasion. The imagination that, on the union of the two nations, an independent Regent would be permitted to rule in Scotland by hereditary right was too absurd to be entertained. The ambassadors were desired to return instantly, with an intimation that, if the negotiations were to be renewed, it must be through persons whose insignificance should not in itself be an affront. The Scots were alarmed, for Henry was reported to be serious. Lord Glencairn and Sir George Douglas hurried to London, and in three weeks returned with the King's own counter-propositions—so reasonable, he said himself, that, if they were not accepted, 'he would follow his purpose by force;'—so moderate, says Knox, 'that all that loved quietness were contented therewith.'[1] He relinquished his demand for the immediate delivery of the young Queen. She might remain in her own country till she was ten years old; in the mean time, as pledges for the fulfilment of the contract, three Scottish earls and three bishops or barons must reside in the English Court. Their places might be changed half-yearly, but the number should be kept complete. For the Government, the Earl of Arran might remain in office during the minority, provided his conduct continued satisfactory, and provided the whole or a portion of the council

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 280, &c. KNOX's *History of the Reformation.*

might be nominated by the English Crown. Lastly, the treaty of peace should be immediately drawn, and the Scots should relinquish the French alliance, and bind themselves to make no separate leagues with any foreign country except with Henry's consent.

The arrival of this message brought matters to a crisis. The endurance of England, it appeared, had its limits; and the Scots saw, or seemed to see, that they must choose between acceptance and open war. Arran, whose feeble understanding swayed under every transient impulse, was at first persuaded into defiance; supported by all the lords except Angus, Cassilis, Maxwell, and Glencairn, he determined to reject the terms and face the consequences. The Cardinal tossed aside his now unneeded mask. The fiction of his imprisonment was no longer maintained. He called a convention of the clergy at St Andrew's, where the 'kirkmen,' with all their voices, shouted for war. Supplies were voted to assist the needy noblemen in raising their retainers, and to bribe them to relinquish their designs upon the abbey lands. 'They had liefer,' said Sir George Douglas, 'all the world should sink than they should lose their pomp and glory.' For the moment even those who sincerely desired the success of the English marriage believed it was hopeless. Arran, constant to nothing, was drawn towards the Church party by fear; for a shadow of illegitimacy hung over him which, if desirable, could be converted into a substance. Matthew Stewart, the young Earl of Lennox, next of kin to the Crown in default of the Hamiltons, was introduced from

France to displace him if he proved intractable, or to awe him into obedience. The Pope had sent fresh powers to his faithful Cardinal. A legate was already on his way from Rome, with 'fulminations of cursing,' and instructions to take the government, if necessary, from a heretic, and confer it upon a dutiful child of the Church. In vain Henry, appealing to the Regent's better nature, advised him 'to play the governour indeed'—to seize Beton and Lennox, with all their adherents, throw them into a dungeon or send them to England.[1] The imbecile Arran could play no part but that of the wind-vane marking the changes in the air-currents. Amidst the rage of the clergy, the jealous pride of independence, the intrigues of France, and the menaces of the Papacy, 'the English lords'—as the few noblemen of clear sense and genuine patriotism were scornfully called — had little chance of prevailing. They continued, nevertheless, resolutely to fight their battle; and two considerable supports they had with

[1] 'His Majesty hath thought good to advise him to have such a regard to the matter as he may pull the feathers off his enemies in time, and by that mean provide both for the indemnity of himself and his friends, and also for the advancement of such things as shall tend to the universal benefit of that realm, which forasmuch as it cannot be brought to pass unless that, as well the legate be empeached of his enterprise as also the Cardinal and the Earl of Lennox be better looked upon than they have been hitherto, his Majesty's advice and counsel is that the governour do now shew himself a man of courage, and play the very governour indeed; and procede with great diligence, secrecy, and sufficient furniture of men to the apprehension of them with all their adherents, even now specially, if it can possibly be done, as they sit at their Convocation.'—Privy Council to Sadler: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 286.

them—the dread of the English army which hung on the Borders like an undissolving cloud, and the small band of Protestants—few in number, but with a resolute purpose, and with a strength which was steadily growing.

May. With this assistance they could still make head against the stream. An assembly was called at Edinburgh, in the first week in May, to consider Henry's message. One day the English party carried their point. A concession was determined on. The day after, the vote was recalled through the exertions of Beton and Mary of Guise; the lords resolved to send the Queen into France;[1] and the Count de Montgomery was announced as coming over to take charge of her. But if they concluded thus, there would be an immediate invasion; and at last, deciding nothing, they thought they might gain time by keeping up appearances; Glencairn and Douglas were again sent to London, to ask for a modification of the conditions; the war between France and England was on the point of breaking out; if England was occupied with so powerful an antagonist, they would feel more safe in their resistance.

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[1] *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. pp. 190, 191. The Laird of Drumlanrig, who was present, and had promised to inform the Warden of the Marches of the temper of the meeting, said that 'There was so much falsehood and inconstancy among the lords, that such agreement as they determined and made one day they would break the same the next day; so that by reason of their falsehood so often determining and changing their purpose, he would not take upon him to write any news to the Warden.'—*State Papers*, vol. v. p. 286.

The ambassadors went and returned. They had found Henry perseveringly moderate—insisting only on essentials, and ready to admit any terms which left the central resolutions unaffected. They left Edinburgh in the beginning of May; at the beginning of June their report was presented to their Parliament; and the French Court being at the moment unable to send a force to assist them in repelling an invasion, and there being no longer any excuse for delay, the Cardinal, with the extreme French party, held aloof from the discussion, foreseeing that, under existing circumstances, they would not carry their point.

There was 'much bickering;' but the alternative of peace or war lay before them in all its harshness. The Catholic fanatics had absented themselves, and the preliminaries of a treaty upon Henry's terms, but with some unimportant reservations, were at last agreed on. The attitude of the opposition gave strength to the peace party; and, as a check on Beton, the Earl of Angus, Lord Maxwell, and others of the Solway prisoners, pledged themselves by a bond to prevent the renewal of the war, to secure the person of the Queen, and, if she were carried off to the Continent by her mother, to be true to Henry, and to acknowledge no government which had not received his sanction. Arran having wavered back to the English side, they promised to support him so long as he remained with them. If the Cardinal, either by assistance from abroad or by intrigues at home, recovered his control in the administration, they would pay him no obedience, and either see the

treaty fulfilled or assist in annexing the whole country south of the Forth to the English dominions.[1]

July. The sky seemed at last to have cleared. The Regent, though not venturing on Henry's stronger remedy, 'conferred' with Sadler on the prosecution of the Cardinal and Lennox. The favourable resolution of the Parliament was communicated to England; and in conformity with it the two treaties—a treaty of peace, and a treaty for the marriage of the Prince of Wales and the Queen—were immediately drawn.

The former bound the two countries to an alliance during the lives of the reigning sovereigns, and for one year after the death of either. For that time England was not to make war on Scotland, nor Scotland make war on England, upon any pretext; and should either of the two countries be invaded by a foreign power, whatever it might be, temporal or spiritual, even though it called itself the supreme head of Christendom, no assistance was to be given by the subjects of the other, private or public, direct or indirect. The treaty should be observed faithfully and honourably, and was not to be evaded on pretence of ecclesiastical censures or sentences.[2] The debateable land on the Border was not to continue a

[1] 'If there happen any division or trouble to arise in Scotland by practice of the Cardinal, kirkmen, France, or otherwise, we shall stick and adhere only to the King's Majesty's service [until such time] as his Highness may attain these things now pacted and covenanted, or at the least the dominion on this side of the Firth.'—*State Papers*. vol. v. p. 319. The form was sent from England.

[2] A reference to the Pope's Bull of Deposition.

sanctuary for felons and traitors; they should be arrested, by the consent and assistance of both Governments, which thenceforward should co-operate honourably and firmly in defence of order and quiet.[1]

No conditions could have been more desirable or just; but the hope of the observance of them lay in the accomplishment of the treaty of marriage. The terms which had been conceded on this point have been already stated. The Queen was to remain with her mother till she was ten years of age; and six noblemen were to be required as her securities. If children followed from the connection, and the Crowns were united, the laws and the name of Scotland were rationally and sufficiently guaranteed. If the Queen should be left a widow without issue, she would return free and unencumbered to her separate kingdom.

To these obligations Henry set his hand at Greenwich on the 1st of July. Sir George Douglas and the Earl of Glencairn signed for Scotland, and forthwith returned to Edinburgh to obtain the formal ratification of the Scotch Parliament. It remained to be seen if Beton would still sit by passively, or at the last moment make another effort. His policy in the past month had been to ignore the assembly at Edinburgh as a faction, and to refuse to recognize any decision as legal to which the clergy had not given their sanction. But force only

[1] Rymer, vol. vi. part 3, p. 93. The treaty was not to extend to the lordship of Lorn in Scotland, nor to the Isle of Lundy. Lorn was notoriously the haunt of outlaws and marauders, and Lundy, after De Valle's followers were destroyed, seems to have been occupied by a fresh gang of French and Scotch pirates.

could give weight to his opposition. He had again written for assistance to Francis; and the importance of the crisis had produced the desired effect. On the 30th of June, while the treaties were on the point of completion in England, Sadler reported the presence of sixteen French ships of war on the coast of Aberdeen. They had brought with them money, arms, and artillery. Several thousand men were said to be on board, and to be waiting for directions from the Cardinal on the point at which they were to land. They were to remain as the nucleus of a Catholic army, or to carry off the Queen, as Mary of Guise and her advisers should direct.[1] Six days after, when the ambassadors were known to have returned from Greenwich, the Romanist lords, the abbots, and bishops were assembled in council at St Andrew's. The Regent was denounced as a heretic and a traitor. It was agreed that the noblemen and gentlemen who were within reach of the Border should immediately carry forays into Northumberland, and exasperating the English into retaliation, compel a war in the teeth of the Government,[2] while Lennox, Huntly, Argyle, Murray, and the Cardinal himself should disperse to raise their powers, and again meet at Stirling

[1] *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. pp. 225, 226, &c.

[2] 'The Cardinal hath not only stirred almost the whole realm against the governour, but also hath procured the Earl Bothwell, the Lord Hume, the Lord of Buccleugh, the Laird of Seaford, and the Kers, which be wholly addict unto him, to stir all the mischief and trouble they can on the Borders, and make raids and incursions into England only of intent to break the peace and to breed contention between the realms.' —Sadler to Lord Parr: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 321.

on the 20th of July.[1] So hot had grown the war fever of the fiery churchman, that he was said to have threatened to challenge an English knight, Sir Ralph Evers, to single combat; and, although there was a doubt whether report was telling the truth, yet a message, professedly in Beton's name, was brought to Berwick; while Evers, in reply, signified his entire pleasure at the prospect which was opened to him, and offered, sooner than balk the Cardinal's wishes, to go to Edinburgh to meet him.[2]

The wild humours gathered rapid strength. The appeal from the Parliament to the nation, based as it was upon the antipathy of centuries, was fatally successful; and Holy Church and freedom became a popular war-cry. 'Such malicious and despiteful people,' Sir Ralph Sadler wrote bitterly, 'live not in the world as is the common people of this realm, specially towards Englishmen.' He was himself shot at in the garden of his house at Edinburgh; and he was advised, if he did not wish to be murdered, to take refuge in Tantallon Castle. 'What will follow,' he said, 'God knoweth; for undoubtedly there is great appearance of mischief.' From England only came hope or comfort. Misfortune in the shape of six English cruisers, had overtaken the French fleet. Two of the enemy's ships were taken, three were driven back to France, eleven only crawled into the Forth, having suffered so severely as to make their retreat desirable as

[1] *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 233, &c.
[2] *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 323.

soon as the sea was open. With the details of the action Henry sent a thousand pounds to Arran, and a promise of help in men and money at any moment that he desired it. He urged him to energy. He advised that without delay the Cardinal and his party should be proclaimed traitors; and if any of them fell into his hands, that, profiting by experience, 'he would so bestow them' where they could give no more anxiety; especially he urged the necessity of securing the Queen's person, and removing her from the indefensible palace of Linlithgow to some safer residence.[1]

But Arran had the vice, so rare in a Scotchman, of weakness. The necessity for action paralyzed in him the power to act. He issued proclamations. He talked of raising twenty thousand men. He would bring the Queen into Blackness. He would meet the Cardinal in the field. But meanwhile, he did no one of these things. He sat still, and waited upon events, and laboured to inflict his own inaction on the English. He even implored Henry, if the Borders were wasted, to bear with it, and abstain from punishing the invaders. 'Tell him,' wrote Henry to his ambassador, 'that we shall so chastise those Borderers as with our advice he may plant others in their places; and for this purpose we have written to our cousin of Suffolk and our Lord Warden of the Marches.' But the temper of steel could not be transfused into lead. The Regent waited on, and the event came. Henry's ships might sweep the seas,

[1] *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 238, &c.

the Buccleughs and the Kers might be cowed by the English troops at Berwick, but in Scotland the power of action was with Beton. The gathering at Stirling was accomplished. While the Regent talked Linlithgow was surrounded, the Queen was secured by his rivals, and transported to their stronghold. July 23. As soon as he had lost the ability to interfere, Arran was contemptuously invited to allow her to remain in a national fortress, and under national guardianship. He consented with an affectation of pleasure. The Parliament might indorse alliances and issue proclamations, the strength of the country was with the faction in revolt. The Catholic nobles, confident of victory, now signified their insolent readiness to allow a treaty which they might observe at their convenience or violate at their will; and while the Wardens of the English Marches were proclaiming peace, they were planning forays on the scale of invasions, to rekindle the war.[1] July 30.

On the news of this last misfortune Henry's patience was exhausted. He sent his thanks to the Regent for the services which he had intended to perform. Five thousand men, he said, were in readiness on the Borders. They would enter Scotland, and unite with himself and with the Douglases, whom he called on to fulfil their pledges. If those should be insufficient 'to daunt the Cardinal,' he 'would prepare a greater furniture to suppress his malice.' He assured the governor that, in

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v. pp. 328, 329.

case the Queen was taken to France, 'and otherwise disposed of in marriage,' he would advance the English Border to Edinburgh forthwith, and by force of title and superiority make the Earl of Arran King of Scotland beyond the Forth. 'Twice,' he warned those who had called themselves his friends, 'they had been deluded by the Cardinal—once in his own deliverance, and, again, in the seizure of the Queen; let them beware a third time.' It was wise and honourable to avoid bloodshed, as long as peace was possible; but he would have them understand that if Beton was to rule in Scotland, the nation to the last man should smart for it; and, as a final resource, he recommended a secret and resolute effort to seize Stirling and the insolent churchman in person.[1]

August. Henry understood at last the disposition of the people. His chief mistake was in overrating the power of the Douglases and his other supporters, and in believing that at the last extremity they would take part with him against their country. Sadler, replying to this letter, assured him that five thousand men would be worse than useless. If he intended to conquer Scotland, he must trust for the work to English hands. If his so-called friends kept their promises, they had not a tenant, they had not a follower who, on the first news that an English army had passed the Border, would not hasten to the Cardinal. But in fact, he trusted neither them nor the Regent. They were

[1] Henry VIII. to Sir Ralph Sadler: *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 246.

playing, so he now thought, in his impatience, on Henry's credulity, and were serious only in their anxiety for his money. He advised Henry to stay his liberality, and in the treachery which he saw around him he could console himself with the English reflection, 'that though plainness and truth were ofttimes abused with subtlety and falsehood, yet in the end alway truth triumphed, when falsehood should take reproach.'[1]

To the present conclusion the tide had been setting from the moment of the return of the prisoners. Then, and throughout the history of Henry's transactions with Scotland, the professions were all of one kind, the actions of another. The Cardinal and the queen-mother had been among the loudest in their protests of anxiety for the English alliance. The lords who perhaps sincerely desired it were as inconstant in their conduct as Beton and Mary of Guise were false in their declarations.

So entirely had the leading statesmen accustomed themselves to treat words as convenient counters, that, in the face of the attitude of defiance which the nation had assumed, it is no matter of surprise to us to find the Scotch Parliament, within a few days of Sadler's last despairing letter, ratifying in form the treaties of Greenwich. The reluctance ceased from the moment that the Queen was secure in Stirling. A convention of the nation sat in August, at which, though the Cardinal did not appear, the majority of the nobles were

[1] *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 262.

present; and so slight a thing it seemed to bind themselves to verbal promises, that in the name and presence of the three Estates of the realm, the Earl of Arran swore before the English ambassador to observe the terms of peace and the conditions of the marriage contract.

The imbecility of the Regent discourages an attempt to interpret his conduct. He professed to believe that Beton would acquiesce; and the day which followed the signature he went in person to St Andrew's, as he pretended, to obtain his consent. But Angus, Glencairn, and Cassilis affected no such delusion. They understood and acknowledged the empty hollowness of the ratification; they regretted too sadly that they had dissuaded Henry from entering Scotland in force after Solway. They scattered to their homes, to collect their strength, and to stand on their own defence, while Arran, on reaching St Andrew's, found that the Cardinal would neither see nor communicate with him; and he vented his ineffectual spleen in proclaiming his own and Scotland's master a traitor.

On the 25th of August the Regent had expressed his belief that Beton 'would prove an honest man to his Majesty of England' and to his country: on the 28th he denounced him as a public enemy. On the 3rd of September there was one more change, and the bubble finally burst. The Cardinal was more courteous than he had seemed. In return for the Regent's visit, Sir John Campbell of Lundy presented himself at Holyrood, and, after a secret interview, Arran in a few hours was once

more on the road to his spiritual father's palace, not any more to persuade him to accept the treaty, not to arrest him for treason, but to ask pardon at his feet, of God and Holy Church, for his own delinquencies. His attitude was now satisfactory: he was welcomed as a returned prodigal. After confessing his offences in having given encouragement to heresy, he was absolved and taken back into the Church. The Cardinal had won the battle, and Scotland was again united.

The reconciliation, which was intended to secure the independence of the country, was immediately marked by a public assertion of it. A proclamation was sent out that the infant Queen would forthwith be crowned at Stirling. A council of state was chosen, under the presidency of the queen-mother, in which, as an evidence of the return of unanimity, a seat was offered to the Earl of Angus; and the English ambassador, in danger of his life, dared not appear outside his doors. 'I assure you,' he wrote at this crisis to a friend, 'there was never so noble a prince's servant as I am so evil entreated as I am, among these unreasonable people; nor I think never man had to do with so rude, so inconstant, and beastly a nation as this is. They neither esteem the honour of their country nor their own honesty, nor yet—which they ought principally to do—their duty to God, and love and charity to their Christian brethren.'[1] The Cardinal returned in triumph to the capital. Instead of the hostages which

Sept. 11.

[1] Sadler to Lord Parr; *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 335.

were promised in the treaty, Henry was insolently told that he might accept, if he pleased, the Solway prisoners, who were on their parole to return. His hopes, a few months before so sanguine, were gone like a dream. His forbearance had been scorned; his credulity had been trifled with. The intrigues of the Papacy, working on a misguided patriotism, had baffled a policy as farsighted as it was generous. Scotland was once more an enemy, and as an enemy it must expect to be dealt with.

The King's first anxiety was for Sir Ralph Sadler, who, he feared, might share the fate of Somerset Herald. To prevent this, or any similar catastrophe, he addressed a few words of warning to the citizens of Edinburgh. 'Being advertised,' he said, 'that our ambassador resident in that town has of late been menaced to be violently and extremely handled, contrary to all law of reason, nature, and humanity, and forasmuch as the injury done to an ambassador hath ever been accounted, among all Christian men, of so high a nature as it was never left unpunished and revenged, we have thought good to admonish you to beware and eschew that outrage whereby ye might worthily provoke our extreme displeasure, and to forbear that attemptate, not only for the detestation of it in all men's ears, but also for fear of the revenge of our sword to extend to that town and commonalty, to the extermination of you to the third and fourth generation.'[1] The menace was brief; but

[1] King Henry VIII. to the Citizens of Edinburgh: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 334.

it was to the purpose, and would secure Sadler's safety.

For the rest, the King would waste no more time in recrimination or argument. 'When words and writings confirmed solemnly by oath would not serve,' he said, 'such unfaithful people must be constrained to know their duties.' He sent orders to Berwick for ten thousand men at once to enter Scotland, and, if possible, to march on the capital. It was the middle of September, and in favourable weather there would have been still a month for active operations. But the autumn had been rainy; the roads were impracticable for the movements of so large a force; and on the representation of Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir Ralph Evers, and others, the invasion was postponed to the spring.[1] The Cardinal had the winter before him to prepare, and as falsehood cost him nothing, he thought it worth his while to practise even further with English simplicity. After making various efforts to obtain a private audience, he at last secured the English ambassador alone, and expressed his deep regret that he should have offended the King. His conduct had been misunderstood; his motives had been misrepresented. There was no prince in the world, he said, whose favour he desired so much as the King's Majesty's; and no one in Scotland would do more than he would do, saving his allegiance, to further the wishes of the English Government. If his own persuasions could effect anything, the whole nobility and clergy of the realm should concur in the execution of the treaties.[2]

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 340.

[2] Sadler to the Duke of Suffolk: *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. pp. 306-7.

October. But he might have spared himself a renewal of dissimulation. England was now at war with France, and the Scotch had already begun to take an active part in the hostilities. Cruisers with mixed crews from the two countries were infesting the Channel. Forays, as usual, had commenced along the Borders. The King replied peremptorily that he had heard the last of fair words. If the Scots again desired to treat with him, Beton and Arran, as a first condition, must be delivered into his hands, or at least deposed from power, and the Government must be made over to a council composed as he would himself direct.[1] Events therefore went their natural course. The promised legate, Marco Grimayni, arrived from Rome with the Pope's blessings and encouragements; and rumour added that Reginald Pole was to follow him with money and four thousand men.[2] In connection with the legate arrived a French ambassador, with ammunition and money.[3] The prisoners of Solway receiving easy absolution, it may be presumed, for their perjury, broke their oaths, and refused to return to England. The Council of Constance, they were assured by the Cardinal, had decreed that no good Catholic was bound by a promise to a heretic;[4] and, out of three noble exceptions who refused the discreditable subterfuge, one only was enabled to save the fame of Scotland by observing his parole. Lord

[1] Sadler to Suffolk and Parr: *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 312.

[2] Harvel to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 546.

[3] *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. pp. 313, 314.

[4] Buchanan.

Maxwell and Lord Somerville, who would have surrendered had they been able, were arrested and imprisoned; the Earl of Cassilis presented himself singly in London, and the King, 'to the intent that all might know that he had an esteem for virtue,' refused to allow him to suffer for his constancy, and sent him back with honour and reward.[1] The reputation of the house of Angus, which had suffered through the instability of Sir George Douglas, was redeemed in a degree by his son, the Master of Morton,[2] who refused to submit to the Cardinal, and held the donjon-keep of Dalkeith Castle against him till he was starved into surrender. But the resistance was almost single. The people had forgotten their sufferings, and were again French. England, it was said, would betray them into subjection. France required only friendship, and would respect their national freedom.[3] Sadler's presence was no longer

[1] Buchanan.

[2] Known in later years as the Regent Morton.

[3] 'Assuring your lordships that, as far as I can see, the whole body of the realm is inclined to France; for they do consider and say that France requireth nothing of them but friendship, and would they should continue and maintain the honour and liberty of their realm, which of themselves they naturally do covet and desire; whereas, on the other side, England, they say, seeketh nothing else but to bring them to subjection, and to have superiority and dominion over them: which universally they do so detest and abhor as in my poor opinion they will never be brought into it but by force. And though such noblemen as pretend to be the King's Majesty's friends here could be contented, as they say, that his Majesty had the superiority of this realm, yet I assure your lordships, to say as I think, there is not one of them that hath two servants or friends that is of the same mind, or would take their parts in that behalf.'—Sadler to the Privy Council: *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 326.

November. tolerated. He withdrew to Tantallon, and thence across the Border; and Beton, confident in the turn of popular feeling, in the promise from France of six thousand troops, and of unlimited funds for the ensuing year,[1] once more summoned a Parliament. It met the first week in December, with its full number and an entire unanimity. The first Act was to grant an indemnity for the irregular seizure of the Queen's person and the armed gathering at Stirling.[2] A few days later the treaties with England were declared annulled; the French alliance was renewed on terms of the closest amity; and the tide of reaction sweeping steadily back, Arran was compelled to repeat in public the recantation which he had made to the Cardinal. The permission for the use of the Bible was withdrawn; and on the 15th of December 'the Lord Governour caused to be shewn and proponed in full Parliament how there was great rumour that heretics more and more rose and spread within the realm, sowing damnable opinions, contrary to the faith and laws of Holy Church; exhorting therefore all prelates and ordinaries, ilk ane within his own diocese, to inquire upon all such manner of persons, and proceed against them according to the laws of Holy Church.' [3]

So closed the year—the King of England being compelled for the present to stand still and see the web unravelled which he had wrought so laboriously. He could do nothing; and could only signify, in a general

[1] *Sadler Papers*, vol. i. p. 338. | December 3, 1543.
[2] *Acts of the Scotch Parliament*, | [3] Ibid. December 15.

manner, his sense of the conduct of the Scottish people. The day after Arran's declaration against the Protestants an English herald appeared in Edinburgh, and delivered to the Parliament, perhaps in person, a message in the following words :— Dec. 16.

'The most excellent, most high, and mighty prince, my most redoubted sovereign Henry the Eighth, by the Grace of God King of England, France and Ireland, and in earth the Supreme Head of the Churches of England and Ireland, hath given me charge and commandment to declare unto you as followeth :

'First, how his Majesty, being in war with you upon provocation of your late sovereign deceased, and having by his death, and victory given by the hand of God upon such as attempted the invasion of his Majesty's realm, a great opportunity to prosecute the same wars, to the confusion and extermination of such as would have presumed to withstand his force, hath been content—in respect of his pronepte, and upon such a suit as hath been made unto his Highness with a visage and countenance hitherto of humility, due reverence, and submission—to do all things that should tend to the conservation of your lady and mistress ; to lay aside armour and puissance, and to enter communication and treaty with you, with conclusion to place his pronepte in marriage with the noble prince his Majesty's eldest son and heir apparent, Prince Edward ; and in the mean time and after to live in peace, rest, and quiet with you. To which covenant ye have agreed and consented. This ye have all promised. To this ye have all by the go-

vernour sworn. This ye have ratified. Only there resteth that, like true men to God and their word, like those that should have respect to honour and loyalty, like those that should more regard the wealth of their mistress than your own affections, ye should duly observe and keep that ye have bargained and promised. Ye should remember with whom ye have covenanted, and to whose commodity and benefit the covenant tendeth. Ye have covenanted with a prince of honour, that will not suffer your disloyalty unpunished and unrevenged; whose power and puissance, by God's grace, is and shall be sufficient against you to make you know and feel your own faults and offences. Ye have covenanted for the wealth of your mistress and the poor commons, to whose great detriment your follies and perverse fancies, if ye observe not your pacts, shall chiefly redound. For as, by the peace and marriage covenanted and agreed, the realm shall be preserved to the behoof of your mistress, and the commons live in quiet, to their great wealth and benefit, so, contrarywise, by your unfaithfulness ye shall destroy that your mistress should enjoy, and be cause and occasion whereby the goods of the poor commons shall be wasted and spoiled at home, and their intercourse letted in outward parts. If ye set more by a little gain, or promise of gain, out of France than by your own honour, if ye care more for the maintenance of the Cardinal's appetites and affections than for the observation of your faith and loyalty, yet fear the hand of God over you—fear the power of a prince able to daunt you—fear, you that take upon you to be

rulers, the understanding of your own people, who, perceiving your abuses to their confusion, shall not endure them—fear the number of such as be honest among you, that shall not endure to continue in that public shame with you. For your conspiracy in so evil a quarrel cannot continue long, and the Devil cannot be author of unity, but discord. Wherefore the King's Majesty, with prudent considerations, admonisheth you to avoid the dangers of your own misdemeanour, and, with princely courage, signifieth unto you in what sort he mindeth to prosecute the same, and willeth me thus to close up my message unto you.

'If ye do like noblemen, and observe your covenants, laying in such hostages as ye have promised, ye shall be mercifully received and benignly handled.

'If ye do follow and persevere in your conjurations already commenced to the contrary, the quarrel of truth and honour shall be with force and puissance so maintained against you as shall, with God's help, be shortly to your confusion.

'If, in the prosecution of such as be the authors and causers of the mischief, the innocent shall suffer, the King's Majesty will be sorry.

'If such as mislike the conspiracy shall use any ways or means to declare their own dissevering from the rest, the King's Majesty shall be glad to know them and spare them, and help their deliverance from inconvenients.

'To this message I ask answer within four days; after which time, if ye say nothing, your silence must

be construed for the worst answer ye could devise.'[1]

The reply was war, whether given in words or tacitly conveyed in acts. Once more Scotland dared the fortune of arms, and nestled behind the shield of France.

While this long episode was in progress, the European quarrel had developed itself, and England had been drawn into the stream. I have already explained the difficulty which for a time brought the treaty with the Empire to a stand. In the form which Henry desired, and which, as we have seen, he had also prescribed to the Scots, the two powers were to declare themselves enemies to each other's enemies, whether spiritual or temporal. The Emperor objected that the claim might compel him to commit parricide in declaring war against the Pope. Henry protested against an exception which would allow Charles to stand neutral or join with his enemies, should Paul find instruments to invade England. Circumstances were rapidly bringing the Emperor to endure the difficulty from which he could free himself by a refusal to act at the moment of extremity; but, in the mean time, counteracting policies, both in the French and English Courts, combined to delay the conclusion. In Paris the Queen of Navarre, the Admiral de Bryon, and the Cardinal du Bellay, desired peace with England and war with the Empire. The Constable Montmorency, the Duke of Guise, M. d'Annebault, and the Cardinal Tournon were at once

[1] Message of the English Herald to the Scots: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 350.

Romanists and Imperialists, who would gladly see a union among the Catholic powers, and a religious war against heresy. In England analogous parties were contending for supremacy. Gardiner and Bonner looked to an alliance with Charles as their own security against the Protestants. The Duke of Norfolk and his family, for reasons not easy to penetrate, were in the interest of France. Gardiner was the personal enemy of Marillac, the French ambassador. The Duke of Norfolk and his brother, Lord William Howard, were in the habit of paying mysterious midnight visits to the ambassador's house on Tower Hill, and never ceased to labour for the Orleans marriage.[1] The Howards were out of favour at the Court in consequence of the discoveries which accompanied the exposure of the late Queen's misconduct, and it is certain that they were dissatisfied with the private policy of the kingdom; while Marillac was notorious as an adherent of the

1543. January.

[1] 'John Torre saith that at such times as Marillac was ambassador here for France, this examinate upon occasion that he had long dwelt in France did often resort to the said Marillac; and because this examinate used always, in his communications as well with the said Marillac as with his secretary, to declare himself much addressed to the French party, they would often open their minds to him. And the said Marillac's secretary told him that, though there were wars against France, yet should the French King have friends in England, for he hath friends for his money in every country; as also the secretary told him that a woman, whom the said Marillac did keep, had almost marred all, for she being in his house continually did see such as came secretly to his house by night or early in the morning; and being examined whether he had heard any of their names, he saith that Marillac's secretary told him that my Lord of Norfolk and my Lord William Howard did use to come thither by night divers times.'—Deposition of John Torre: *MS. State Paper Office, Domestic*, vol. xix.

Papacy, and belonged to a third French party, opposed to the Empire, but opposed equally to the Queen of Navarre. The situation is too intricate to be explained with the existing materials; and it is of the less importance, since—although it was not, perhaps, without its effect at the time—another singular incident neutralized at the same moment the Norfolk influence.

The speculations on the succession to the crown had for some time past been succeeded by speculations on the regency. The Prince was likely to live, but the King grew yearly more infirm. His death was certainly at no great distance; and who was to govern England during the minority? Lord Hertford was most likely to be named. He was the prince's uncle—able and ambitious. But Hertford, though of respectable family, was one of 'the new-raised men'—in patrician eyes, an upstart insolent, little better than a Cromwell; and for Hertford to be playing the part of a sovereign was a thought which, to the nobles of the old blood, was intolerable. The young Lord Surrey especially found the prospect unpleasant to him; and, although the full extent of his imaginations remained for three years longer concealed, an accident in the present winter made it known that he was encouraging perilous expectations.

In the middle of January a party of gentlemen, of whom Surrey was one, amused the long hours of a winter night by a riot in London. They paraded the streets with 'stone bows'—they broke the windows of houses and churches, and shot 'pellets' among 'the

queans upon the Bankside.' After these and other proceedings of imperfect propriety, they disappeared among the unlighted alleys of the City. They escaped detection for the night. In the morning they were traced to the house of a certain Master Arundel, in Laurence-lane.[1] Their names were taken, and the rank of the offenders led to an inquiry by the privy council. The immediate matter was no more than a pardonable frolic; but the examination of the witnesses, especially of Mrs Arundel's servants, showed that Surrey allowed himself to be regarded by his friends as more than the hero of a midnight disturbance.[2] Surrey in

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[1] The lane which ran down from the south side of Laurence Poultney-church-yard, now known as Laurence Pountney lane.—See STOWE's *Survey of London*, p. 84.

[2] 'A meat dealer from the City, examined, deposed that on the 19th of January a maiden servant of one Arundel, of St Laurence-lane, came to him and complained of the meat which had been furnished to her master. She desired 'that at all times she might be served of the best, for she said that peers of the realm should eat thereof, and besides that a prince.' 'Deponent asked what prince that should be? She answered, the Earl of Surrey. Unto whom deponent said that he was no prince, but a nobleman of honour, and of more honour like to be. Then she said yes; and if aught other than good should become of the King, he is like to be King. Unto whom deponent said, it is not so. Then said she, it is said so.'

''Mistress Arundel, examined, said that the Earl of Surrey and other young noblemen frequented her house, eating meat in Lent, and committing other misdemeanors.' 'Further, she saith, how at Candlemas they went out with stone bows at nine o'clock at night, and did not come back till past midnight, and the next day there was a great clamour of the breaking of many glass windows both of houses and churches, and shooting at men that night in the street; and the voice was that those hurts were done by my lord and his company. Whereupon she gave commandment unto all her house that they should say nothing of my lord's going out in form specified. Item, she said, that that night or the night before they used the same stone bows, rowing

past years had been a favourite with Henry. An arrest and an admonition were considered an adequate punishment for an act of folly; and he was acquitted of responsibility for the language of others. But conduct which, under any interpretation, was discreditable, added to the cloud over the family; and Norfolk could effect but little in the direction of English policy.

Events dragged on, therefore, in uncertainty. Francis varied as his moods swayed him. In his interviews with the English ambassador he was alternately overflowing with passion and expressing the utmost anxiety for Henry's friendship.[1] At one time he admitted his debts by desiring to compromise them; at another he would declare that Henry had broken the conditions, and had no claims upon him. In his first disappointment at the disaster on the Solway he instructed Marillac to attempt to rearrange his relations with the English Government.[2] Henry replied that he was ready to meet him in any reasonable agreement; but the money question could not be postponed. He sent in a formal schedule of his claims, with copies of the obligations by which Francis had bound himself, and refused to allow any settlement short of an

Jan. 20.

on the Thames; and Thomas Clear told her how they shot at the queans on the Bankside. Mistress Arundel also, looking one day at Lord Surrey's arms, said the arms were very like the King's arms, and said further, she thought he would be King, if aught but good happened to the King and prince.'—*MS. State Paper Office, Domestic*, vol. xiv.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 246, &c.

[2] Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 271; passage in cypher.

honest payment. He dilated naturally on the behaviour of the French in Scotland. French pirates were hanging about his coasts in fleets; and at that very moment when the French Government were professing a desire for conciliation, they were permitting Scotch cruisers to seize English merchant-ships as they lay at anchor in their harbours under the guns of their forts. If Francis desired a reconciliation, he must alter his conduct as well as his words. If he intended to act as a friend, he had better recall Marillac, and send over some more temperate minister.[1]

Weary of listening to language with which conduct was in perpetual contradiction, Henry had learnt the necessity of replying to acts by acts. While Francis was debating his answer to this message, listening in the morning to d'Annebault, in the evening to Margaret of Navarre, he took the pirate difficulty again into his own hands. French ships, calling themselves traders, had pillaged English fishing-smacks, and were caught red-handed, with the stolen nets and lines on board. Remonstrances had brought no redress, and the Portsmouth fleet again dashed out and seized a number of the offenders, condemned the vessels, and threw the crews into prison. Circumstances thus came to the assistance of the irresolution of the French King. The war-party were allowed to retaliate; and orders were sent out to arrest all English merchantmen in every part of France. Sir William Paget de-

February.

[1] The Privy Council to Paget: ibid. p. 277.

manded the meaning of so violent a measure. Cardinal Tournon, in the name of the council, replied by taking the cause of the pirates. The fishermen who had been robbed were interested parties. Their oaths and the recognition of their property were no evidence. The English had commenced the injury; if they desired reparation, they must set the example also. Paget became violent.[1] Tournon encouraged by contemptuous indifference the spirit which he wished to rouse. Henry supported his minister. He required an instant release of the ships. He approved entirely of Paget's language and attitude. His subjects should not be injured; and if the French Government desired war, they had better declare themselves enemies.[2]

Feb. 6. By this time the fire was kindled. 'There was not a child in France but had war with England in his mouth.'[3] The council met at Fontainebleau, and Paget presented his master's message. Tournon affected this time some kind of moderation, and suggested an appointment of commissions to examine the grounds of quarrel. But d'Annebault took the words out of his mouth. 'Methinks,' he said, smiling

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[1] 'Indeed, sire, to tell you the truth, I swore an oath or two, and with his wilful answers I was somewhat chafed, saying, 'Why think you to have my master in bondage, and will make him do as you list; and in case such order be taken with your ships as pleaseth you, then our ships shall be released, and if the order shall not like you, then our ships shall tarry still?' For the passion of God, look better to this thing, both for the quietness of the realm and the safeguard of your honour.'—Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 298.

[2] Ibid. p. 305.

[3] Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 303.

in scorn, 'you declare a rupture of war against us. If the King my master would have believed some of us, we should have begun with you long ere this, for you have given many good occasions; but no man can put it out of his head that the King your master loveth him in his heart naturally. If you be disposed to begin with us, you shall find us ready, and not unprovided, to receive Emperor, Turk, Soldan, and all the devils in hell if they come.'[1] It was ungracious to include so good a friend as Solyman in the possible list of enemies. But the French council would perhaps have been less peremptory, had they known that four days previously an alliance which they had believed impossible had been really accomplished. The difficulty of the terms had been overcome; the necessities of both England and the Empire had driven them to a compromise; and Henry had consented not to press Charles with an obnoxious word, if Charles on his part would accept the meaning of it when concealed under a general phrase. On the 11th of February a treaty had been concluded *contra Franciscum cum Turchâ confœderatum* — against Francis, the confederate of the Turk: painful subjects and painful reminiscences were declared to be buried; and the Emperor and the King of England, with their subjects of all degrees, were for ever after to be friends. The conditions which were agreed upon were so important in their consequences, that they require to be detailed in their fulness.

Feb. 11.

[1] Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 306.

The contracting powers engaged that they would commit no act of hostility against each other, nor by aid or counsel encourage acts of hostility in others.

They would neither shelter nor assist each other's refugees, nor permit their subjects to shelter them: a refugee whose presence in either country was complained of should depart within fifteen days, under pain of death.

If England or Ireland, the Isle of Wight, the Isle of Man, the Channel Isles, the Marches of Guisnes and Calais, on the one hand, if Spain or the Low Countries, on the other, were invaded by any foreign enemy whatsoever, the two Governments bound themselves respectively to treat as an enemy both the invading power and any other power which might assist the enterprise by contribution of funds or otherwise.

If the invasion was made with a force exceeding ten thousand men, either Government, at the request of the party invaded, should send help within forty days, at its own expense; the aid to be furnished in men or money, as might be required, at the rate of seven hundred crowns a day: provided always that this liability should not be extended beyond four months in any one year.[1] Should the subjects of either sovereign break the treaty by protecting refugees, by acts of piracy, or otherwise, the treaty itself should nevertheless remain in force. The special fault should be the subject of

[1] This article applied only to England, the Calais Pale, and the Low Countries. Spain and Ireland being more remote, the obligations of assistance were left undefined.

special inquiry; and the offenders should be punished without embroiling their Governments.

Letters of marque should not be granted in such cases for reprisals. The ancient commercial treaties should continue to be observed. If disputes arose under them they should be amicably settled.

In case of war with France or any other power, neither England nor the Empire should treat separately either for peace or truce, except under certain narrow conditions especially defined.[1]

Further (and here we trace the effect of the preliminary differences), it was agreed that the two powers would act towards one another honourably, uprightly, and faithfully; that they would do nothing either of them to the prejudice of the present treaty, especially (with a reassertion of the last condition) that no peace should be made with France unless with their joint consent, and unless both declared themselves satisfied: that the present treaty should be of such force as to override all others whatsoever into which they had entered or might enter at a future time: that neither prince should allow or entertain any confederate who should be the enemy of the other, or against whom

[1] 'Sed mutuis et communicatis consiliis de pace et Treugis sive Induciis, nec nisi mutuo et communi consensu in aliquâ parte conditiones pacis Treugæ sive Induciarum convenire possint. Proviso semper quod imminente necessitate obsidionis aut gravioris periculi liceat alterutri dictorum principum cum hoste communi de Treugis et Induciis temporalibus seorsim et separatim altero principe non consulto pacisci et convenire, ita tamen ut ultra duos menses hujusmodi Induciæ non continent aut durent.'

that other had any outstanding claims unsettled.'[1]

They were to swear, each on the word of a prince, and by oath upon the Gospels, to observe all the articles of their engagements *bonâ fide* and inviolably. If they broke faith they consented to be held infamous both by God and man. The treaty was to be taken in its plain and obvious signification, 'without those subtleties or oblique interpretations which would, or which might, subvert the just understanding between the contracting princes.'

Henry had thus bound Charles down with as much solemnity and distinctness as words could bind him, to be true to his faith as a man and as a king, and not to avail himself of the evasions which the Pope, in the name of religion, might urge upon him. He was now satisfied and confident; and the treaty concluded with a resolution to present joint demands to Francis, in the following terms:—

'Forasmuch as the Turk, the inveterate enemy of the Christian name and faith, has invaded Christendom, trusting to the support of the King of France; and forasmuch as with the like encouragement the said Turk is now notoriously devising fresh enterprises, to the destruction of all good men, the high contracting powers do require the King of France to desist from his intelligence with the said Turk, to treat him as an enemy, and to recall his ambassadors now residing at that Court. The King of France shall make satisfaction for

[1] Cutting off Charles from the Pope on one side, and Henry from the German princes on the other.

the injuries inflicted on Christian countries by invasions undertaken at his solicitation. He shall restore the town of Maran to the King of the Romans. He shall make good to the Emperor and to the German Diet all such sums of money as they have spent in the war with the Turk; and he shall cease to make war upon the Emperor, and shall leave him at leisure to watch over the defence of Christendom. He shall pay to the King of England those debts which he fraudulently withholds from him; and, as security for the future payment of the pensions to the King of England, he shall surrender and place in his hands the towns of Boulogne, Mottreul, Terouenne, and Ardres, with the country intervening and adjoining.'

If in fear of the punishment about to fall upon him, the King of France would treat for peace, and would consent to honourable conditions, those conditions should be accepted. But (in anticipation that Francis would offer concessions to one sovereign in order to divide him from the other) the contracting powers bound themselves further never to make peace till they mutually obtained that justice which they held to be their due, nor until they had considered in common the terms which he might propose.[1] Should he return no satisfactory answer within ten days of the presentation of the above demands, they would together declare war, and not

[1] The words must be carefully recollected: 'Nec aliter in ulla fœdera pacta conventiones Treugas Inducias cum eodem Gallorum Rege convenict concordabit aut paciscetur eorum alter quam de communi et mutuo consensu eorundem, et donec ac quousque utrique eorum de iis quæ speciatim exprimuntur fuerit ab eodem Gallorum Rege satisfactum.'

desist therefrom until the Duchy of Burgundy should be restored to the Emperor, and England had recovered her ancient rights in Normandy and Guienne, and in the sovereignty of France. Finally, within a month of the declaration, the Imperial and English navies should unite to defend the narrow seas; and at some period within two years of the ratification of the treaty their armies, each not less than twenty-five thousand eight hundred strong, would together invade France.[1]

Rumour had whispered on the Continent the possibility of such a treaty; but the events of the ten past years—the unpardoned, and, as was supposed, the unpardonable affront which Henry had offered to the Spanish nation; the attitude which Charles had so repeatedly been upon the point of assuming as the champion of the orthodox faith; the schemes of invasion so often discussed; the intrigues in Ireland, and with the English Catholics, added to the Emperor's own repeated declarations that he would ally himself to England only when England had returned to the Church—these things, in spite of warning symptoms, had forbidden the world to believe that such a combination could take effect until it was actually accomplished; and the consternation which the reality created when actually present, was proportioned to the previous incredulity. The friends and the enemies of the Papacy saw the consequences developing themselves before their imagination in the ruin of the powers which they loved

[1] RYMER, vol. vi. part 3, p. 86.

or detested. Paul, in anticipation of the catastrophe, had bewailed 'the secret and impious councils'—'the new and deadly discords' which menaced the Church.[1] The small scruple which had been raised over a word did not suffice to excuse an act which, construed most favourably, was a defiance of the Papal censures; and Charles, it was evidently believed at the moment, intended to follow the King of England to the full extent of disobedience. Those, on the other side, who dreaded the Turkish galleys for themselves, or Turkish seraglios for their wives and daughters, more than the possible decrepitude of the See of Rome—those who wished well to rational freedom in Christendom—who would have Popish and Protestant fanatics alike crushed into moderation—rejoiced in an alliance which would punish the traitor who had opened the door of Europe to Solyman, and was a first step towards a popular council, where the new opinions could be reasonably considered. 'The Roman Bishop and clergy,' wrote the English resident at Venice to Henry, 'were consumed with sorrow and care, fearing their ruin;'[2] but 'all good men,' he said, 'were beyond measure delighted.' The King of France 'had made himself odious with all men by his practices with the Turk;' and through all Northern Italy 'was an incredible desire and expectation to see his Majesty in arms against France, wherein men

[1] 'Novas et exitiales discordias oriri, et quod omnium maxime abominandum occulta et impia consilia machinari vidit, quæ et concilium quemadmodum hactenus retardare, et totam Christianam rempublicam non sine gravissimâ omnium culpâ subvertere possint.'—Intimatio Concilii: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 225.

[2] Ibid. p. 367.

reckoned to consist the only hope, comfort, and safeguard of Christendom.'[1]

Until the treaty had been ratified by the Emperor in person (which was done with all ceremony and solemnity in Spain, on the 31st of March), it was not publicly announced; but Paget was recalled from France; a secret of so much importance was virtually none; and Francis, who, like the rest of the world, had, in spite of his pretended suspicions, been really incredulous, was alarmed when the fact broke upon him, and regretted that he had been committed by his minister to extreme measures. Marillac was superseded in haste; as an evidence of pacific intentions, a mild and moderate successor, M. Dorthe, was sent over in his place; and when Paget appeared at Court to present his letters of revocation, they were received with the utmost unwillingness, and the King condescended to explanations and apologies. If any better motive could be imagined to have influenced Francis than fear

March.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 361. The Catholic clergy were sensible of their danger even in a remote parish of an English county. 'Master Lovell, Priest of Sturmiston parish in Dorsetshire, came by chance into an alehouse, where he sat in communication with two honest men of the wars between the Emperor and the King of France, and the Pope taking the King of France's part. Whereat he said he should have God's blessing and his that took the King of France's part and the Pope's, and wished himself to be under the Pope's feet to be sure of his Holy Father's blessing, and said if he had his blessing he cared not whose curse he had. For he said that he was sure that, if our Holy Father the Pope and the King of France, after their deaths, came not to heaven, that God is not in heaven; and that if our King's Grace and the Emperor, after their departing, went not to hell, the devil is not in hell.' —Miscellaneous Depositions: *Rolls House MS.* A 2, 30, fol. 29.

of the coalition against him, and a desire to separate the allies, his language in this interview would not be without interest. He was very sorry, he said, that Sir William Paget was going away. He 'perceived' that his own ambassador 'had not done his part, but had wrought passionately.' 'Howbeit,' he said, 'I trust and believe verily that my good brother—my best brother—my best beloved brother—will not let our public matters fall through for any private folly. Indeed, I cannot find in my heart to believe that my good brother will be my enemy.' The French alliance, he went on to urge, would be far more advantageous to England than the Imperial. If Henry joined the Emperor, he must spend money and be at war; if he remained by the side of France, it would cost him nothing, nor would there be any need for him to break with Charles. 'And what,' he added, 'if the Emperor and I join together, in what case is he then, if I will use extremity? If my brother will go with me, tell him I shall stick upon no money matters: he shall rule me as he list. For the ships, they be but trifles between him and me, and no great cause to part our friendship. He shall himself set therein what order he list; and so I pray you heartily to tell him.'[1]

Three weeks before, such language would have prevented the rupture. It was now too late. Henry was bound by new engagements, which he was not at liberty to violate. Paget returned to England; and the formal

[1] Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 322.

requisitions which would precede the war were prepared for delivery.

Meanwhile, the spring was coming on; and with the spring the Turks were expected before Vienna. Enormous preparations had notoriously been made at Constantinople. Unfortunately, but a slight preparation to meet them had been attempted in Germany. Ferdinand's disasters in the two preceding summers had roused no spirit of national gallantry. The Princes of the Empire were quarrelling among themselves, or were sitting still in obstinate despondency. It is remarkable that, at this great moment of peril, the 'religious' parties, properly so called, of both persuasions, were insensible to their immediate duty. Papists and Lutherans, alike passionately bent on doctrinal objects, left the defence of Europe to the allied powers, whom they both denounced as lukewarm and unchristian. The Elector and the Landgrave of Hesse were busy expelling Henry of Brunswick from his principality. The Duke of Cleves, now in alliance with Francis, was forcibly annexing the Duchy of Gueldres, a fief of the Empire, and was at war with the Netherlands. The diet met at Nuremberg on the 23rd of February; but few of the princes were present in person, and their representatives only assembled to quarrel. The Regent of Flanders desired them to mediate in the dispute with Cleves. Granvelle entreated for money and men for the Turkish war. But the name of the Turks was a weariness; and the war with France was a private quarrel of the Emperor. The Catholic princes were

anxious rather to arrange a persecution of the Lutherans. The Lutherans, intolerant as their opponents of opinions which they considered heterodox, desired freedom of religion to the extent of their own liberality, and a reformation of the Chamber of the Empire—the supreme legal court of appeal, by which, as at present constituted, Protestant communities were made amenable to Catholic canons. When these matters had been attended to, and not till then, they would consider Granvelle's demands. In the mean time the Elector of Saxe sent assistance to his brother-in-law the Duke of Cleves;[1] and the Hungarians, worn out with suffering, were reported ready to acquiesce in destiny and submit to the Porte. The hopes of all moderate persons lay in the speedy arrival of Charles out of Spain; and the early summer, at the latest, was to find him in Germany.[2] On his route he would pass through Italy, where it was expected that he was to hold an interview with the Pope, to urge on the Holy Father his forgotten duties; to warn him against encouraging Francis, or in deeper blindness mixing in the quarrel; to protest against any sudden convocation of a council, and to make palatable the English alliance, by holding out the delu-

[1] Mont to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. pp. 331, 332.

[2] 'Nec spes est res Germanicas gravi discidio et partium studio scissas et convulsas componi posse nisi per ipsum Cæsarem Cæsaris æquitas et clementia omnium animos in bonam spem adducit et erigit. Nobiliores per Germaniam canonici non benefactis et piis studiis animos populi demereri student sed obstinatione et pervicaci superstitionum et abusuum propugnatione res laceras dissipare et magis exasperare student.'—Same to same: ibid. p. 321.

sive hope that Henry would return to his allegiance.[1]

A remonstrance was necessary if the Empire and the Papacy were to escape being forced into a rupture. Sleeping and waking, Paul had but the one idea before him, how best to destroy England; and Scotland and France, the two present enemies of his great adversary, he was instinctively desirous to support.[2]

The interview between the Pope and the Emperor took effect in June, apparently with beneficial results. Rumour, which had decided beforehand on the object of it, confirmed its anticipation with imaginary accounts of its details. But the secret on both sides was carefully kept, and if a record remains of the actual conversation, it lies among the unrevealed mysteries in the Vatican. Only this was certain, that Reginald Pole, who, with four thousand French and Germans, was about to proceed to Scotland to the assistance of Beton, was compelled to relinquish his intention; and the Emperor, after this outward evidence of loyalty to his engagements, began, at the close of the month, his eventful march into Germany.

Henry, on his side, had also given evidence of constancy. The appeal of Francis to Paget having failed, the English and Flemish heralds demanded access, in conformity with the treaty, to present their requisitions to the French Government. The permission was refused, and a separate note was in consequence submitted by the privy council to M. Dorthe. The condition of

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[1] *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 434. [2] Ibid. p. 385.

Europe, the advance of the Turks, and the peril which the ambition of the King of France had occasioned to the whole Christian faith, had determined the King of England, they said, in connection with the Emperor, to insist on the relinquishment of his shameful and ungodly alliance. Individually they had to complain of unpaid debts; of breach of treaty in the maintenance of English traitors; of intrigues in Scotland, both under the late King and since his death, to keep alive an unmeaning and mischievous hostility; of the seizure of the English merchant-ships in their harbours; and the arrest of English subjects resident in France.[1] For their particular injuries they required reparation, with security for the future payment of the pensions, and for a cessation of their vexatious interference with their neighbours; while a reasonable satisfaction must be made for the attack upon the Empire, with such guarantees as would secure the peace of Europe for the future. If these demands were complied with, the King of England was ready and willing to remain on good terms; but an answer must be returned within three weeks, or war was virtually declared, and would be continued by sea and land, till France was compelled into submission.

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[1] 'These things, so repugnant to the obligation of treaties, with the desire and affection of our sovereign lord as a faithful and Christian prince towards the commonwealth of the faith, now enfeebled and reduced by the invasions of the Turks, through the mean and instigation of the King your master, have induced him to unite and make common cause with his antient ally the Emperor to enforce the just demands of both princes.'—*State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 389.

If Henry had been faithless enough to break his engagements with Charles for his separate advantage, he had now an excellent opportunity. M. Dorthe was instructed by his Government to comply almost unreservedly with the peculiar demands of England, if England would allow the French Government to remain obstinate towards the Empire. The arrears of debt should be paid, and even the interest on them. The pensions should be continued and secured, or redeemed for an abundant equivalent. Scotland should be no longer encouraged in resistance.[1] Even the enlargement of the Calais frontier was not absolutely refused; and an interview between the Kings was suggested, when they might settle their differences in person.[2] The overtures were tempting. To have accepted them would have been infamous, but it would have been convenient; and their rejection, which, at the moment, was a matter of course, appeared like a virtue in another year, and in contrast with the conduct, under similar circumstances, of another sovereign. M. Dorthe, at all events, was unsuccessful. His brief residence was immediately terminated, and the settlement

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[1] 'Quant a la guerre des Escossois le fera cesser.'—Dorthe to the Privy Council: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 392.

[2] 'Et quant a la ville d'Ardre, pour che que le roy mon maistre ne pense que le Roy d'Angleterre, son bon frere luy en vouloit aulcune chose demander, attendu la grande et parfaicte amytie qu'ils ont tousjours eu ensemble, et aussy que c'est son vray heritage; il me semble sy plaist audict Signeur Roy d'Angleterre, que celle soit remis sus la veuee et communication dentre leurs deulx, qu'ils en porront mieulx accorder par ensemble que par milz autres.'—Ibid.

of Europe was left to the sword, and to intrigue where intrigue might be more availing.

The winter had been spent in resolute preparations through all parts of France to repair the last summer's failures. A blow was to be struck in Flanders before the arrival of the Emperor, and at the beginning of June fifty thousand men crossed the frontiers. They obtained a few rapid successes. Among other places, they seized and fortified the important position of Landrecy; and the Court of Brussels being anxious to see Henry committed to active hostilities, intimated their expectation of assistance in compliance with the treaty, and desired that it might be furnished, not in money, but in men. The King consented with the warmth with which the English so often throw themselves into a first campaign. His only condition was, that the troops which he would send should not be cooped in garrisons, but should be employed in the field;[1] and Sir John Wallop, as a further compensation for his late prosecution, was appointed to the command. He was directed to place himself in correspondence with the Imperial generals, and to act as they should think best, although it was intimated as the opinion of M. de Rieulx that his best employment would be the seizure, so long contemplated, of Mottreul.[2]

June.

The contingent under Wallop's command was inconsiderable in number—from five to six thousand men,—but it was composed of the flower of England. The

[1] *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 747.

[2] Ibid. p. 752.

gentlemen of the royal household had generally volunteered. Lord Surrey, emerging from under the clouds, was sent over to burnish up his tarnished brightness; and he carried with him a special introduction from Henry to the Emperor, should Charles reach the scene of action before the end of the summer. It was the pride of the English commander that, amidst the miscellaneous concourse of Flemings, Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, who formed the Imperial force, his own small army should be the model of discipline and order.[1] The defence of Flanders requiring the whole available force, the attack on Mottreul was postponed, and the scene of the war lay chiefly along the Flemish frontier, from Landrecy towards Calais. The campaign, on the part of the English, commenced with a passage at arms, which revived the gone days of chivalry. There had been a skirmish under the walls of Terouenne, where a company of mounted archers had especially distinguished themselves. The French had retired within the lines of the town, and the governor being an acquaintance of the English general, the latter sent in a challenge, the circumstances and results of which he thus described in a despatch to the Government:—

July.

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[1] 'Thanks be to God, your army here hath ever since their setting forward ordered themselves with such obedience, modesty, and temperance, without any fray or quarrel either within themselves or to any stranger, that it is not only to our great comfort to see the same, but also to the great marvel of strangers, being rather like the civility of a city or town than an army of men of war.'—Wallop to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 462.

'At night, after our camp was lodged, I sent a letter to the captain, and the effect of my letter was that, seeing he would send out no greater number to skirmish with us, if he had any gentlemen under his charge that would break any staves for their ladies' sakes, I would the next morning appoint six gentlemen to meet with them. Whereunto, early in the morning, he sent me a letter that he had appointed six gentlemen to meet me by the way at nine o'clock, with certain conditions, which I kept and observed accordingly. And those I sent to run against them, by their own requests, were Mr Howard, Peter Carew,[1] Markham, Chelley of Calais, with two of mine own men, Calverley and Hall: and by report of those that did behold them, they did run well, and made very fair courses. Mr Howard at his first course brake his staff in the midst of the Frenchman's cuirass galiardly. Markham strake another upon the headpiece like to have overthrown him. Peter Carew also brake his staff very well, and had another broken on him. Calverley, my man, was praised to make the fairest course of them all; yet, by the evil running of a Frenchman's horse, that fled out, strake him under the armpit through the body, and pierced his harness in the back, so that he is sore hurt, and in great danger, not able to be brought back to our camp, but carried to Terouenne, where he is well intreated. This morning, having heard from them, I have some hopes of his life.'[2]

[1] The story is told less circumstantially in HOOKER'S *Life of Sir Peter Carew.* — *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii.

[2] Sir John Wallop to the Privy Council: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 457.

History closes over the scene. We know not whether the gallant Calverley lived or died; and the pageantry of war soon gave place to its harder realities. But, on the whole, the campaign lingered. Though superior in number the French declined an action, and contented themselves with fortifying the towns which they had taken at the outset. The garrisons of Guisnes and Calais were successful in several slight enterprises on the Marches.[1] The eleven French ships which had been driven into Leith, and had been reduced to nine, either by the loss or departure of two of their number, were again waylaid, and four more of them were captured.[2] But de Rieulx waited for the arrival of Charles before attempting to act on the offensive; and on the side of the Low Countries, the summer was passing away undistinguished by any event of importance. In Piedmont de Guasto had won a victory, but he had been unable to follow it up into substantial success. In the Mediterranean, Barbarossa was omnipotent, and was wasting the coasts at his pleasure. He passed along the shores of Italy, pillaging and destroying. At Ostia alone, of all places which he visited, he brought disgrace upon the Pope by abstaining from violence, and, with suspicious clemency, paid for the supplies which he required.[3] From thence he passed on to Toulon, where,

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 488.

[2] Ibid. p. 489.

[3] 'This thing,' Harvel wrote from Venice to the King, 'turneth the Bishop to incredible hate and infamy that such favour should be shewn him by Turks, as though he were their confederate.'—Ibid. p. 446. Even the Court of Brussels affected to be scandalized. Dr Wotton, the resident there, told them, 'It stood well with all reason that

as an honoured ally, he was received with a splendid hospitality. The French fleet, when he again sailed, put to sea in his company, and, for the first time in history, the Crescent and the Fleur-de-lis were seen floating side by side in a joint enterprise against a Christian state. Villa Franca fell to the strange allies, and afterwards the town and harbour of Nice. The castle held out till de Guasto could arrive for its relief. But this was the only check which the Turkish admiral had met with. No power could be raised which could hope to cope successfully with him at sea; and, after sweeping the waters in the insolence of a force which he knew to be irresistible, he returned to Toulon, which had been made over to him as a winter station by the King of France.[1]

Strange and offensive, however, as these proceedings appeared, they were still of secondary moment. The eyes of Europe were mainly turned on the central figure of the Emperor. He had made his preparations at his leisure. By midsummer a hundred and twenty cannon had been cast for him at the foundries of Augsburg. Ammunition waggons were prepared and loaded, and

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the Turk and Bishop of Rome, being both of one mind and purpose, and both going about one thing, that is, to destroy the Christian faith, should live like brethren and help each other.'—Ibid. p. 451.

[1] Barbarossa seems to have treated the French much as they deserved. 'The Turks that be at Toulon,' says a State paper, 'spoileth all the churches thereabouts, beateth down the walls, and maketh them again, after their sort, temples and oratories after the usage of their laws; and therein doth their sacrifices.'—Layton to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 584.

shot and *shell*[1] were reported as rising in piles of unimagined magnitude. Thirty thousand Spaniards and Italians were known, in the beginning of July, to have left Milan for Germany; but where the storm was to break, all men were asking and none could answer. The intended movements were a well-kept secret. So strangely were parties confused that nothing could be guessed from probability. Charles and Henry were on one side. Francis, on the other, had sought allies where he could find them; and was in marvellous combination with the Pope and Solyman, with the Duke of Cleves, and through the Duke, with the Elector of Saxe. The Catholic princes of the Empire could not support Charles without indirectly injuring the Papacy. The Lutherans, in attaching themselves to France, were supporting Paul against England; although, at the moment, the Lanzknechts of Cleves, under Martin von Rosheim, were campaigning, like the Covenanters of the following century, with the sword in one hand and the Bible in the other.[2] In such a labyrinth who could foretell the course which the Emperor might choose?

[1] Shells were used freely in this campaign. See Vol. II. p. 193, note.

[2] 'I heard a merry tale credibly reported, that Martin von Rosheim, remembering that the Hollanders and people about Amersfort have been of late years much inclined to the profession of the Gospel, and having no priests about him meet for that purpose, causeth some of his Lanzknechts, that can best tell their tales, to preach at Amersfort the liberty of the Gospel, trusting thereby to allure the Hollanders rather to follow him. It must needs be a good sight to see a Lanzknecht, his cap full of feathers, his doublet and hosen cut and jagged, his sword by his side, an arquebuss on his neck, to preach and set forth the Word solemnly, as though it were not Christ's Gospel, but Mahomet's Alcoran.'—Wotton to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 465.

The moderate Germans, who had expected him with such anxiety, felt their hearts fail them when they learnt the form in which he was at last coming. For the first time the free soil of their country would be trodden by the Spanish infantry, with whose prowess and whose cruelty two hemispheres were ringing.[1] Henry, too, was not without uneasiness. An ally who was sharing the dangers of a campaign was entitled to confidence; and Charles's secrets were locked impenetrably in his own cabinet. There had been a meeting with the Pope, and a veil was flung over it. The treaty had stipulated for ships from Spain or the Low Countries, to assist in protecting the Channel; the English had sent their contingent into Flanders; but the Imperial cruisers delayed their appearance, and the Portsmouth fleet was defending the harbours of Holland.[2] An English renegade, again, a friend of Pole—who, at the request of Bonner, had been imprisoned at the Castle of Milan,—had escaped unaccountably, and, as it seemed, with official connivance. The Emperor, the King considered, was more careful of his own interests than of those of his ally.[3]

But Charles's intentions were not long in revealing themselves. On the 25th of July he arrived at Spires. His army followed him in detachments, and was collected in full force by the middle of July 25.

[1] 'Ego universam Germaniam sollicitam et conturbatam animadverto. Vident enim et non sine suâ jacturâ sentiunt rapacissimam et crudelissimam gentem in Germaniam inductam quod jam multis sæculis nemo ausus fuit.'—Mont to Henry VIII.: ibid. p. 470.

[2] Ibid. p. 483.

[3] Ibid. pp. 404, 420.

August. Germany, and not France, it was now clear, would be his first object; and those who had outstanding disputes with him had hastily to look to themselves. The Elector and the Landgrave of Hesse sent to him to express a hope that he did not mean to interfere with their religion. They volunteered explanations of their conduct to the Duke of Brunswick, and would submit their case to the Diet. They had reason to be anxious, for their turn would come when Charles was strong enough to deal with them; for the present, his displeasure was satisfied with the punishment of a meaner offender. The Duke of Cleves had replied to the remonstrances of the Emperor on the occupation of Gueldres by invading Holland and Brabant. He had broken his oath as a prince of the Empire by an alliance with a hostile sovereign; and Francis had promised to be at his side before Charles's arm could reach to touch him. The Duke of Cleves, the first of the German powers, was to learn a lesson of obedience. The Archbishop of Mayence, while Charles was still at Spires, came forward, uncommissioned, to intercede; but his interference was set aside with a calm peremptoriness.

August 20. On the 20th of August the Emperor, accompanied by Bishop Bonner, embarked upon the Rhine, taking with him thirty thousand veteran soldiers and a train of artillery; for which alone, with the ammunition, he had collected three thousand transport horses.

August 22. On the 22nd he was at the gates of Duren; and a herald was sent forward with a proclamation in writing, that whereas William, Duke

of Cleves, had broken the peace of Germany, had rebelled against the laws of the Empire, and had united himself through France with the enemies of the Christian faith; whereas he had invaded the territories of his liege lord and destroyed his subjects; and whereas the inhabitants of Duren had hitherto assisted the said Duke of Cleves in that his ungracious and unnatural rebellion,—the Emperor willed and commanded them immediately to yield themselves to his mercy. If they obeyed, he would receive them into his favour. If they resisted, they would resist at their peril.

The town was strong, and powerfully garrisoned. A storm was thought impossible; and the stores of provisions within the walls would last till the winter, when a besieging army would be driven from the field. The herald was told scornfully that he might take his proclamation to those from whom it came: the soldiers of Duren knew no reading; he pretended to come from the Emperor; the Emperor had fed the fishes of the Mediterranean when he was seeking to return from Algiers,[1] and from him they had nothing to fear.

Before forty-eight hours had expired they found reason to know that neither was Duren impregnable nor the Emperor a delusion. The second morning after their reply the Spaniards were led up to the walls, and, after a struggle of three hours, the garrison

August 24.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 489. It is a singular fact that the people of Germany very generally believed that the Emperor had been lost on his way back from Africa. Sleidan says, that even the Duke of Cleves shared the prevailing error.

broke and fled. Seven hundred were killed. The rest, attempting to escape on the other side of the town, fell into the hands of the Prince of Orange. Charles, coolly merciless, refused to spare a man who had borne arms against him. The commander was hanged before the gates: the other prisoners were variously executed. By the sunset of the 24th of August the town of Duren was left to the possession of old men and children, and the dishonoured widows of its late defenders.

No second example was required of the consequences of resistance to the arms of the Emperor. Strong cities, powerfully garrisoned, lay in his course as he descended the Rhine; but a panic opened their gates for him. The keys of Gurlik were brought to him by women: every able-bodied man had fled. Bergen, Ruremonde, Herclens, Nieustadt, Stittart, surrendered at a summons. At Venlo only was there found courage to attempt a second defence; and at Venlo the terrified townsmen prepared to compel the soldiers to submit.[1] All that side of Germany lay at once at Charles's feet. The old Duchess of Cleves, the Puritan mother of Anne, died of sorrow, 'raging,' so wrote Dr Wotton, 'and in a manner out of her wits for spite and anger.' Bonner's train were attacked and almost murdered in the streets of Cologne by some of her partisans; and the unfortunate Duke drew his sword upon his own minister in his council-chamber. Helpless before his gigantic antagonist, he had to choose between submission and de-

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 498.

struction equally instant. On the 7th of September, with the Duke of Brunswick and ten other gentlemen, he rode in deep mourning into the Imperial camp, and fell at Charles's feet, in time barely to save Venlo from the fate of Duren. He confessed his offences, he implored mercy, he renounced Gueldres, and even offered to do homage for Cleves, which had been hitherto independent.[1] Never in so brief a time had success been more rapid or overwhelming.[2] And the Emperor could say with truth that the defeat of the Duke of Cleves was the heaviest blow which he could have inflicted upon France. But, if it was a blow against France, it was a side-blow at the Reformation. The news was coldly received in England; nor was Henry better pleased when he learnt that, as an immediate sequel of the victory, Charles had sent a menacing message to the Elector to restore the monks and nuns whom he had ejected from their houses in the Duchy of Brunswick. Bad news, too, came from Hungary. The English treasury had supplied money to Ferdinand for a third campaign, which had again been

September.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ix. pp. 501—6.

[2] 'The matter seemeth at a point,' said Wotton, in a second letter, 'the which to me seemeth one of the strangest things that chanced these many years. I would never have believed that for one town cowardly lost by assault, such a great and strong country should have been wholly lost without in manner stroke striking. The Emperor may write to his friends as Cæsar wrote to his friends, *veni, vidi, vici*. Surely it appeareth that God hath blinded and intendeth to punish the French King that hath none otherwise assisted the Duke of Cleves; for he might by him have wrought more displeasure to the Emperor by a small power, than by himself he shall be able to do with four times as much.'—Wotton to Henry VIII.: ibid. pp. 505-6.

a failure. Gran had fallen to the Turks, with heavy loss; and the women and children were sent away from Vienna to Ratisbon.[1] The common cause was neglected; and Charles's triumphs, so far, caused as much uneasiness as pleasure.

The King, however, was better satisfied by hearing from Italy of high language which had been used in his favour by the Spanish ambassador to the Pope,[2] and by the Emperor to Cardinal Farnese;[3] and the Emperor himself gave a further and unmistakeable evidence of zeal in hastening, as soon as the matter of Cleves was disposed of, to the allied camp in Flanders, notwithstanding that he was suffering from a severe attack of an enemy as capricious and implacable as the King of France—the gout. The strong will of Charles V. ruled alike his constitution and his passions. Whether sick or well, if possible, he meant to fight a battle with the French before the season closed; and on the 19th of October he was at the lines of Landrecy, behind which de Vendosme lay intrenched.

October.

His first step—perhaps because he felt a special

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[1] Mont to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 518.

[2] 'The Bishop of Rome had for certain granted four thousand men against your Majesty; but by persuasion of the Imperial orator he is removed from that deliberation, not without great difficulty, labouring the said orator five hours with the Bishop upon the matter.'—Harvel to Henry VIII.: ibid. p. 520.

[3] 'Granville saith that the Bishop of Rome dare not stir nor attempt anything, and specially for because of the word that the Emperor said unto the Cardinal Farnese, that if the Bishop of Rome did anything against your Highness, he would take it as done against his own person.'—Wotton to Henry VIII.: ibid. p. 639.

compliment to his ally to be desirable—was to review the English army, when he charmed every one with his courtesy and unaffected manliness. 'I brought him,' said Sir John Wallop, 'to the upper part of the camp, and so along. He, beholding well our army, standing fourscore in a rank, and after having beheld the fortifications thereof, did like them marvellously well—and so did all the other strangers that came with him—saying he had not seen anything of that sort—meaning a trench that I devised more than a pike length and a half from the carts. To whom I said, the first device of such trenches was made to annoy him. How, quoth he, and when? I answered, it was when the French King's camp lay joining to Vienne, when his Majesty came into Provence, I being there at that time. And as he rode a little lower, beholding the same, he saw upon the top of the said trench all your Majesty's captains and petty captains, appointed right well, like men of war, in very warlike apparel. He asked me who were those; and I showed him that they were the captains and the lieutenants of the footmen, and the most part your Majesty's household servants: 'Par ma foy, disoit il, voila une belle bande de gentilhommes.' He began to tell me how sick he had been; and the day before he came hither he assayed his harness, which was a great deal too wide for him, notwithstanding he had made him a great doublet bombasted with cotton. He said further, if the French King come, as he saith he will, I will live and die with you Englishmen.'[1]

[1] Wallop to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 522.

The town of Landrecy was the present object of both armies. The French had taken it, and intended to leave a garrison there for the winter. They meant to remain in the field till the season should make the siege impossible. The Emperor insisted as resolutely that he would stay till the place was recovered, or the enemy were forced to a battle. His huge artillery was incessantly at work. Mortar-batteries were erected, on a plan of Henry's, on adjoining heights; and the shells were heard bursting in the town and the French camp. Still no impression was made. De Vendosme refused to be dislodged; and Charles determined on a flank march and an attack upon the rear. He surveyed the country in person, with an escort of English light cavalry;[1] and a series of manœuvres followed—on the one side to avoid, on the other to compel an engagement. The weather was unfavourable, the roads heavy. The four months were expired during which, by treaty, the English were bound to remain; and they had their eyes still on Mottreul and Boulogne, which were ungarrisoned

[1] He wrote himself to Henry to express his admiration of these troops. On one occasion they rode forward to clear the country in advance, 'and when he saw them hurl up the hill so lightly,' he cried out with delight. Their uniforms were white embroidered with the red cross of St George, and their ensigns were on the same pattern. In the churchwardens' account books, at Dartington in Devonshire, I find, in a list of vestments preserved at the church, in the first year of Edward VI., 'The white banner with the red cross which was made for the war.' Dartington had belonged to the Marquis of Exeter. It was forfeited on his attainder, and was still in the hands of the Crown; so that among the light horse which excited Charles's applause we probably identify a party of Crown vassals from this parish.

and might be carried easily by a *coup de main*. But Charles entreated that they would not leave him; and at last, in the first week of November, there was a prospect of something decisive. The French had retreated upon Cambray. On Saturday, the 3rd, there had been a severe skirmish; and the Monday morning following had been fixed for a storm of the camp. But de Vendosme had gained his point. The weather and the lateness of the season secured Landrecy till the spring; on Sunday night he withdrew silently from his position, and by daybreak his whole force were across the frontier. It was too late to interrupt or overtake them. The cavalry harassed their rear, but with indifferent success; and a party of English gentlemen—Sir George Carew, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Mr Edward Bellingham—pressing on too hotly in the pursuit, were entangled in a wood, and were made prisoners. The campaign was over for that year, and the allies were dispersed. November.

The winter set in, and brought with it, in the suspension of hostilities, an interlude of intrigue. The Pope laboured ineffectually to bring the Emperor to agree to a peace.[1] Francis permitted the factions which divided his council to make attempts to separate the allies. But for the present they were staunch to one another and true to the treaty. Charles publicly thanked Wallop for his services. More than twenty vacancies in the order of the Golden Fleece were placed

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 547.

by him at Henry's disposal; and the disbanded Spaniards had so far forgotten the injuries of Queen Catherine, that they volunteered into the English service.[1]

Some embarrassment was created by the Scotch question, for the treaty bound Charles to be an enemy to the enemies of England, and as the attitude which Scotland had assumed towards Henry was the special work of the Pope and the Pope's friends, to side with Henry in his attempts at conquest would have increased the anomaly of his position.[2] But he contrived to evade or postpone the difficulty. Unpleasant subjects were buried under mutual civilities; and the year closed with an arrangement for the movements of the ensuing summer.

The two sovereigns agreed to invade France simultaneously, either in person or by their lieutenants. An English and Imperial army should enter on the 20th of June—the latter by the Upper Rhine, the former from Calais by the Somme—and endeavour, if possible, to effect a meeting at Paris. If they succeeded, their future operations would be decided on in the French capital; but it was admitted that the movements of armies could not be arranged beforehand with certainty;

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[1] Wallop even wrote that, 'If it was his Majesty's pleasure to keep any arquebusses through the winter, they should be much better to serve him than any other nation, their desire was so much towards his Highness.'—*State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 545.

[2] Henry, in a message to Charles upon the subject, did not seem to hold the Scotch noblemen in very high esteem; he described James as having left his young child behind him, 'unprovided among the hands of a sort of wolves.'—Ibid. p. 534.

the commanders in both cases were to consider themselves free to act by the dictates of military prudence, unfettered by absolute conditions.[1] The invading force on each side was increased from that which was fixed originally in the treaty of alliance to forty thousand men; and the Regent of Flanders would undertake the commissariat and transport services for the English, even to finding vessels to bring them across the Channel.

With this resolution, with the disposal of overwhelming strength, and, on the part of the King of England at least, with no objects which were not openly avowed, the allies looked forward with confidence to certain and rapid victory.

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[1] 'Selon que la raison de la guerre moyen des victuailles et ce que fera l'ennemi et aultres empeschements le comporteront.' — Treaty between Charles V. and Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 572. The reader must undertake to burden his memory with these words.

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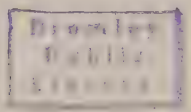

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